



Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture

BEFORE EMOTION

THE LANGUAGE OF FEELING, 400–1800

Edited by
Juanita Feros Ruys,
Michael W. Champion, and
Kirk Essary

ROUTLEDGE



De Affectus, Affectio, & Affectatio ! Ca. lxxviii.
Affectum nusq̃ uideor reperisse apud M. Tull. Frequē
tissime affectiōem. Cōtraq̃ apud Quintil. frequētissime
affectum. raro affectiōem. ut illo loco (si mō n̄ est men
dosus) ubi ait. Cupiditas cā sceleris fuit. quē uis eius ira q̃ntū
efficiat in anīs hoīm talis affectio. Nescio an sit affectus. Et in
alio loco. Illa uero frigida, & puerilis in scholis affectio. Affe
ctiōem Cic. mō sic diffinit. Affectio est anī, & corporis ex tem
pore aliqua de cā mutatio. ut letitia, cupiditas, metus, molestia

Frontispiece: Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae linguae latinae*. Paris: Gering, Crantz,
and Friburger, 1471–72. Courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek
Basel (<http://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-45103>).



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Before Emotion

Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400–1800 advances current interdisciplinary research in the history of emotions through in-depth studies of the European language of emotion from late antiquity to the modern period. Focusing specifically on the premodern cognates of ‘affect’ or ‘affection’ (such as *affectus*, *affectio*, and *affeccioun*), an international team of scholars explores the cultural and intellectual contexts in which emotion was discussed before the term ‘emotion’ itself came into widespread use. By tracing the history of key terms and concepts associated with what we identify as ‘emotions’ today, the volume offers a first-time critical foundation for understanding pre- and early modern emotions discourse, charts continuities and changes across cultures, time periods, genres, and languages, and helps contextualize modern shifts in the understanding of emotions.

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Michael W. Champion, and

Kirk Essary

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Preface

Thomas Dixon

In the history of emotions, philology and phenomenology meet. We cannot hope to grasp the feelings of the past until we comprehend the terms in which they were named and analysed, expressed and experienced. To name a feeling is to interpret it to oneself and others. Whether identifying a particular experience as ‘fear’ or ‘grief,’ or placing it within a broader category such as ‘passions of the soul’ or ‘moral sentiments,’ the act of associating a feeling with a word achieves several things at once. It collapses the swirling indeterminacy of mental life into something neater and more communicable. It is like replacing an impressionist painting with a simplified technical diagram. The act of naming our feelings also implicitly connects them with the feelings of other members of our linguistic community. To give our feelings names—the names we have learned from our parents and peers—is an assertion of commonality. It says, ‘I feel like you.’ And this ability to name our feelings is a primary, not a secondary, part of emotional life. The vocabulary and the emotions are learned together and felt together. To experience a particular pang as ‘angst’ rather than ‘hunger,’ or as ‘sin’ rather than ‘desire,’ is to alter the phenomenology of the moment, as it happens.

My own fascination with the history of affective terminologies began in the late 1990s when I was working on a PhD about theology and the emotions. The review meeting at the end of my first year did not go well. The senior colleague tasked with appraising my progress told me, in a perfectly friendly way, what he thought of my discussions of the philosophy, theology, anthropology, and psychology of emotion. ‘Intellectually and methodologically,’ he said, ‘your project is total gibberish.’ This bracing advice led to a rethink and a turn to a more historically grounded approach. In the months that followed, I decided to try to figure out what Augustine and Aquinas thought about the emotions. And it was in the course of this process—when trying to answer my supervisor’s apparently innocuous question, ‘So, what did St Augustine think about the emotions?’—that I realized the whole question was misconceived since Augustine did not have a concept of ‘the emotions.’

I was by no means the first person to have noticed that ‘the emotions’ was a distinctively modern psychological category, although I did seem

to read a lot of scholarly works that included phrases like ‘the emotions, or the “passions” as philosophers used to call them,’ which elicited increasingly strong emotional reactions in me. In fact, as early as 1905, the philosopher-psychologists James Mark Baldwin and G. F. Stout, in a jointly written article about ‘emotion,’ made the key point:

The use of the word emotion in English psychology is comparatively modern. It is found in Hume, but even he speaks generally rather of passions or affections. When the word emotion did become current its application was very wide, covering all possible varieties of feeling, except those that are purely sensational in their origin.¹

I managed to spin this insight of Baldwin’s and Stout’s into a whole PhD thesis, in which I put particular emphasis on the differences between troubling ‘passions’ and often milder ‘affections,’ and between both those terms and modern ‘emotions.’²

Since then, scholarship on all these points has moved on dramatically, and it is delightful to see in the contributions to the present volume such a rich array of nuanced studies of the meanings of *affectus*, *affectio*, and related terms, in texts by authors ranging chronologically from St Augustine to David Hume. Among many other things, several much more expert answers than mine to the historical question of the meanings of affective terms in Augustine and Aquinas are available here. Jonathan Teubner gets to grips with Augustine’s conflicted feelings about feelings and shows how sighing and weeping could be not only expressions of spiritual affections, but even a medium for prayer, despite the fact that human passions and affections, in this life, are always a kind of tragedy. Robert Miner, meanwhile, shows how we can go beyond the simple teaching of Aquinas (which I, for one, had previously taken at face value) about the distinction between *affectūs* as movements of the intellectual appetite, or will, and *passiones* as movements of the lower, sensitive appetite.

These new reflections on Augustine and Aquinas bring to light some of the key challenges faced by the historian seeking to coordinate the words and the feelings of the past, both on their own terms and as part of a genealogy of the present. Such a historian of affective terminologies is in constant peril from false friends and unreliable guides. The false friends are the terms themselves. I discovered this during my PhD research. It was easy enough to spot that ‘passions of the soul’ were, at many levels, not the same things as modern psychological ‘emotions.’ However, what only gradually dawned on me was that ‘emotions’ were often not the same things as ‘emotions’ either. In his 1603 translation of Montaigne, John Florio apologized for his use of certain ‘uncouth termes’ he had borrowed from French and used in his English translation, among them ‘emotion.’ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

‘emotions’ in English-language texts generally meant ‘commotions’ or ‘disturbances,’ but it is tempting to see ‘emotions’ and to read ‘emotions’ in something like our modern psychological sense. While that meaning began to emerge in philosophical texts by Scottish authors in the eighteenth century, many others used the term to mean something different, including the physical manifestations of the passions of the soul.³

In the contributions to the present volume we find further examples of false friends, this time in earlier uses of *affectus* and *affectio*. Those terms might sometimes, but not often, be best thought of as synonymous with our modern terms ‘affect’ and ‘affection.’ One of the recurring themes of the volume is the way that *affectus* could be a near-synonym less for what we might today call ‘affect’ or ‘affection’ but more for an underlying orientation of the self that would be better denominated ‘will’ or ‘love.’ As Juanita Feros Ruys shows in her chapter, Abelard and Heloise both displayed their familiarity with Augustinian ideas connecting *affectus* with the will. For authors writing in this tradition, *affectus* often had little to do with fleeting emotions and instead represented a more lasting intention. Antonina Harbus’s chapter shows that Anglo-Saxon glosses and translations similarly suggest that *affectus* could mean ‘wish,’ ‘will,’ or ‘love.’

Even when *affectus* and *affectio* are used to refer to feelings or emotions of some kind, those terms may not be best translated as either ‘affect’ or ‘affection.’ As Elena Carrera points out in her discussion of Vives’ terminology in the sixteenth century, his use of the plural *affectūs* is probably better translated into modern English as ‘passions’ rather than either ‘affections’ or ‘emotions,’ given the troubling connotations of sin and enslavement given by Vives to the term. Well aware of the presence of false friends, several scholars in this collection rightly address the problem of how to translate *affectus* and *affectio*, and of course there can be no single answer to that question, since all must depend on nuance and contexts. I was particularly struck by Constant Mews’s suggestion that Bernard of Clairvaux’s dictum, ‘Non est affectus Deus; affectio est,’ is best translated, ‘God is not affect; he is affectivity.’ These kinds of imaginative decisions about translation are at the heart of good histories of emotions. Yet, even within the work of a single author, affective terms may be used differently, even inconsistently, and that brings me to the second problem facing the historian of affective terminology—unreliable guides.

Our fellow scholars may sometimes mislead us, of course, and we are all of us professionally attuned especially to the errors of earlier generations. But the unreliable guides I have in mind here are the authors we study. When it comes to the interpretation of a historical text, the stated beliefs of its author are by no means the highest authority to which we can turn. This is all the more obvious when the author contradicts himself or herself on a key point. I have already alluded to the fact that Robert Miner’s rereading of Aquinas uncovers a nuanced view

of the relationship between human *passiones* and potentially divine or angelic *affectūs* which goes beyond the simple view that Aquinas himself states in one key passage. Similarly, Augustine, in Book IX of the *City of God*, had listed various Latin terms that were used to translate the Greek *pathē*, including *perturbationes*, *affectiones*, *affectūs*, and *passiones*.⁴ Aquinas later suggested that this passage of Augustine might mean that all these Latin terms could be treated as synonyms.⁵ Yet such an interpretation is not consistent with the writings of either Augustine or Aquinas himself.

Erasmus provided an even longer list of possible Latin translations of *pathē*, as Kirk Essary notes, including *motus*, *cupiditates*, and *morbi*, in addition to *affectūs* and *perturbationes*. Cicero, whose influence on premodern thought about passions and affections is evident in several chapters of this volume, had used both *perturbationes* and *affectūs* in his writings. And according to Erasmus, in a letter written to his friend Peter Gilles in 1530, ‘There is no difference between *affectio* and *affectus*, except that Cicero liked the former and Quintilian the latter.’ Yet, as Essary demonstrates, Erasmus is another unreliable guide to his own usage. When it suited him, Erasmus distinguished between the terms, using *affectus* for what we might call an affection of the soul, and *affectio* for a lower movement of the soul or a bodily form of suffering. Erasmus had his own distinctive approach to affective terminology, resisting the use of *passiones* to translate *pathē* as an unwelcome neologism, despite the fact that it had been used by Augustine and Aquinas, among others. Elsewhere Essary has written about the complexities of usage in both Erasmus and Calvin, making it clear that there are definite limits, especially in the sixteenth century, to the applicability of a neat distinction between passions and affections.⁶

One of the merits of historical work that pays close attention to words and their changing uses and meanings is that it alerts us to the different metaphors that ultimately lie behind our affective vocabularies. All our language is metaphorical—we are always reaching out to something beyond the object of discussion in order to see it in a new light—but some of our metaphors are deader than others. To think about the different etymologies of ‘affect,’ ‘sentiment,’ ‘passion,’ ‘emotion,’ and other terms is to remind ourselves about the metaphors that are encrusted, perhaps even entombed, in our everyday language of feeling. These categories—which R.S. White refers to as ‘meta-terms’ under which a range of feelings can be collected together—carry with them in their etymologies hints about their metaphorical roots. Rita Copeland’s chapter, for instance, brings out how important metaphors of movement were to Cicero when imagining what we might think of as the affective realm. As Copeland notes, in Book 2 of *De oratore*, writing of the way that a speaker must be moved if he wishes to move his audience, Cicero uses

the language not of *affectus* or *affectio*, but instead various terms for movement—*permotio animi*, *impetus*, *motus*, *commoveo*, *permoveo*. It is also striking to discover in Barbara Newman's chapter that a 12th-century abbot described a form of *caritas sine affectu*—'Charity without affection'—using the image of a 'frigid fire.' In the same passage, the abbot uses the image of the believer being welded to God. Simple, powerful images like these make us stop and rethink the meanings of both *caritas* and *affectus*, and reflect on the fact that, for this author at least, one could exist without the other.

Underlying all the linguistic variation analysed within this volume, there is not a single universal reality—'the emotions' or 'affect' or anything else. Nor is there a single premodern concept of feeling or affectivity to be discovered. What is shared across this affective history is the use of metaphors to try to collapse, tame, and compare different versions of the buzzing mess of mental life. People attempt, through language, to make the invisible and incomprehensible world of human feeling temporarily and provisionally visible and comprehensible. This is a world of metaphor—the ineffable, the invisible, the affective are described as other things, such as rest and motion, heat and light, hunger and thirst, pain and pleasure, winds and tides, eruptions, riots, diseases, bonds. Navigating through false friends and unreliable guides, the historian of affective terminologies can use the apparently dry materials of philology and semantics to breathe new life into the dead and dying metaphors through which we live our lives and feel our feelings.

Notes

- 1 *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, ed. James M. Baldwin, 3 vols. in 4 (London: Macmillan, 1905), I, 316.
- 2 Thomas Dixon, *From Passions and Affections to Emotions: A Case-Study in Christian and Scientific Psychologies, 1714–1903* (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2000); this was later published, with some additions and modifications, as Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- 3 For further details on the uses of 'émotion' and 'emotion' in this period, see Joan DeJean, *Ancients Against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin de Siècle* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 78–94; Hans-Jürgen Diller, "'Emotion" vs. "passion": The History of Word-Use and the Emergence of an A-moral Category,' *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 52 (2010): 127–151; Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions*; Thomas Dixon, "'Emotion": The History of a Keyword in Crisis,' *Emotion Review* 4, no. 4 (2012): 338–344.
- 4 Augustine, *City of God*, IX.4.
- 5 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 1–2.22.2.
- 6 Kirk Essary, 'Passions, Affections, or Emotions? On the Ambiguity of 16th Century Terminology,' in *Emotion Review* 9, no. 4 (2017): 367–374.

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Introduction

The Language of Affect from Late Antiquity to Early Modernity

*Michael W. Champion, Kirk Essary,
and Juanita Feros Ruys*

The surge in history of emotions research worldwide has produced innovative readings of past cultures. This research has allowed us to comprehend more fully the ways in which people experienced their own society, and has uncovered myriad theories, taxonomies, and hierarchies of affective states which were at play, and indeed, at times, in competition, in societies from antiquity to modernity. These new understandings have allowed us to see how emotions in the past mediated between individuals, groups, and their larger societies. They have helped historians reconsider how institutions, and categories such as class, gender, sexuality, and subjectivity, were formed, made strange, and reformed through different emotional practices. The history of emotions has also illuminated our own affective connections with that past, in conjunction with our present deployment of emotions in art, politics, and science.

Much history of emotions research has treated emotions as though they are discursive phenomena. Barbara Rosenwein has argued that historians should identify ‘emotion words’ in their sources and compare different vocabularies of emotion to outline the discursive boundaries of different emotional communities and discern changes within these communities.¹ This methodology has proved popular and productive and has been extended beyond the domain of texts into studies, for example, of ritual and materiality. Others have followed the approach of Robert Kaster and focused attention either on short narratives or on scripts which record typical ways in which emotions could be expressed in different genres and situations.² Still others take William Reddy’s approach, and think of such words or scripts as ‘performative’—speaking of emotions is not understood as merely descriptive but as a means of creating the emotion both in the speaker and in his or her audience, and thereby altering individual subjectivities and the groups, institutions, and cultures they inhabit and help to construct.³ What unites each of these approaches is treating emotions primarily as discursive and focusing on the meanings communicated by and created through emotional experience. Such analyses sit well with cultural, political, and social history after the linguistic turn.⁴

Scholarship on the history of emotions has continued to explore these productive paths, and much work remains to be done. Certainly, humanities scholarship on the emotions has issued a warning that too great an emphasis on discourse can hide important features of the phenomenology of emotional experience, broadly understood. The final chapter surveys and interacts with some of those approaches, which emphasize embodiment, materiality, and the physical and often autonomic processes involved in the experience and transmission of affectivity. But the main focus of this book remains within the discursive model, arguing for a more fine-grained understanding of the semantic specificity of the *language* of emotions that was employed by medieval and early modern writers. If emotions have histories, apparently similar modern terminology will always conceal false friends, as will translations, or even contemporary dictionary definitions, which, helpful as they are, cannot account for nuances associated with different intellectual traditions, genres, or audiences. Close analysis of the stability or instability of the semantics of emotion in a particular context and over the long term is crucial for comprehending ways in which emotions are culturally understood.

This book focuses on the term *affectus* and its cognates across vernacular European languages from late antiquity to early modernity. This long period offers an important series of sites of analysis, given that emotions terminology in medieval and early modern Europe has received less theoretical attention to date than the classical and late-modern periods. *Affectus* is crucial for the theorization of the psychology of emotions, for accounts of individual emotions, and for discourses that link psychological theories and individual emotions to broader rhetorical, philosophical, theological, and (some) medical theories.⁵ In Europe from ancient Rome to the eighteenth century, emotion terms appear most broadly to constellate around the Latin terms *affectus* and *affectio*, and their vernacular cognates (such as ‘affeccioun,’ ‘affection,’ and ‘affetti’). Used on their own, or in compound with similarly loaded Latin terms such as *animus*, *anima*, *mens*, *cor*, or *passio*, they played a key role in thinkers from Cicero to Hume. Thus, *affectus* and its cognates deserve sustained study in any history of emotions in premodern Europe.⁶ Yet these terms have not received due attention.⁷

Historians of the language of emotion as well as linguists focused on emotion terms have made important recent contributions to this area, revealing its complexities and laying the groundwork for the scope of this volume.⁸ Importantly for our project, Ute Frevert and her colleagues have examined what Frevert refers to as the ‘historical semantics of emotion’ primarily in the context of the modern encyclopaedia.⁹ As Frevert writes in her Introduction, concepts and definitions of emotion, though unstable, ‘give us initial access to what contemporaries in a given time and place thought about emotions, what they knew about them, and how

this knowledge helped them to order, distinguish, demarcate, and evaluate feelings.’¹⁰ She notes that the term *affect*, for instance, is understood differently in contemporary discourse than it was in eighteenth-century thought: ‘The social contexts of the concept, and the systems of knowledge upon which it drew, have changed dramatically.’¹¹ If this is the case over the 250-odd years of the ‘modern era,’ it is true *a fortiori* in the several centuries from Augustine (where this volume begins) to Hume (where it ends), and the situation only becomes muddier when the translation of key emotion terms from one language to the next is considered. Eventually, this sort of semantic analysis of emotion terms enables more robust understandings of affective cultures or, as Rosenwein calls them, ‘emotional communities.’¹²

The essays in this volume consider the complexity of the keyword *affectus* and its cognates across different authors, genres, cultures, and traditions in Latin and European vernaculars, outlining both the cultural specificity of emotional experience and the ways emotions were translated across languages and cultures. Each author was given a brief to zero in on the keyword, including its associations, argument contexts, and ways it functioned within particular genres, theories, practices, and forms of life. Generalization in this area is very tempting, but close analyses of individual authors or texts allow for more nuanced understandings of the historical semantics of emotion. Setting these studies side by side, moreover, allows us to begin building the complex perspective that is required truly to understand the theory and experience of emotions in the premodern world in a variety of contexts. We hope that it will prove useful for historians of emotion and will inspire further conversation and research in this area.

We are aware of the gender imbalance in our sources, insofar as most of the texts discussed in this volume are male-authored. We have endeavoured to take into consideration the understanding of the metalanguage of emotions evinced by medieval and early modern women where such texts are available. There is certainly potential for further research here, and also for the productive refinement of our current understanding of premodern emotions terminology in light of it, since the female-authored texts considered in this volume do suggest that women may have had a different relationship to these terms from their male counterparts.

Barbara Newman, for instance, shows that Hildegard of Bingen did not mirror the usages of *affectus* and *affectio* addressed to her in superscription by her male correspondents, and which might have been expected of a male correspondent in a similar role of pastoral care, in order to insist on her position of authority in relation to them and vis-à-vis God. It is also clear, in the essay by Juanita Feros Ruys, that Heloise and Abelard, who both thought and wrote within the same intellectual tradition, used the term *affectus* quite differently in their writings, as did the male and female correspondents of the *Epistolae duorum amantium*

(who may or may not be identical with the more famous couple). We can, in fact, see the young woman of the *Epistolae* using the term *affectus* in a number of different contexts to think through the emotional states in which she finds herself, whereas the male author does not use the term at all in discussing their relationship or his feelings.

Paul Megna suggests that Julian of Norwich's usage of *affeccioun* tends to differ from that of her male mystic contemporaries in being more unrelievedly negative, whereas their employment of the term could be modified for positive or negative connotations. Meanwhile, Margery Kempe developed a usage that aligned the term more broadly with the idea of love. Moving into the early modern world, key thinkers on emotions terminology such as René Descartes openly discussed their ideas with female correspondents, such as Elisabeth of Bohemia, which indicates that women were consistently taking part in these conversations, even if, for the most part, they were not authoring treatises of their own.

When the ideas of this volume were presented at a conference round-table just prior to the manuscript's submission to press, an interesting question arose from the floor. Did the medieval and early modern use of *affectus* presuppose an adult male body for the sensing and feeling protagonist? From the essays by Robert C. Miner and Kirk Essary, we know that a human body is not necessary for the experience of *affectus*, which could also be considered an attribute of God and the incorporeal angels in writers as diverse as Thomas Aquinas and Erasmus of Rotterdam. But within the human realm, it is relevant to ask whether the experience and understanding of *affectus* outlined by the male authors here might have been considered to vary according to the nature of the body in question. We have addressed above the idea that women may have interpreted and felt *affectus* and *affectio* differently from men, but did age also have a part to play? Given the association of *affectus* with *habitus*, which is an attribute of training and development, would medieval and early modern authors have assumed that a person would be born with a fully developed *affectus* or capacity for *affectus*, or did they imagine that this would mature, or could be trained, through the multiple (usually seven) 'ages of man'? We know that *affectus* could be altered in adults through a concerted disposition of the will, or, as Naama Cohen-Hanegbi has shown, through medical regimens intended to address humoral imbalance, but was it seen as something that might change simply in relation to an individual's transit through the human life cycle? This pertinent question does not find resolution in the essays assembled here and would repay further investigation.

The case studies stand on their own, and summary can only detract from the volume's overall aim to analyse the use of *affectus* and its cognates and vernacular friends in specific detail. Nevertheless, we hope that this study also provides the detail necessary for the construction and refinement of theories of interpretation in our field. The final chapter

points in this direction. But it may be helpful at the outset to provide some orienting commentary about both the structure of the volume and the theoretical payoff we hope it might offer. First, we have organized the essays primarily chronologically. This has the effect of setting out changes which are a function of time and period, while it simultaneously shows continuities that unsettle standard periodization. For example, the rhetorical tradition innovates in several ways over the long period we are exploring, including in the deployment of concepts related to *affectus*. Within this chronological ordering, we have also grouped essays by language and genre. The centrality of differences between languages is so well known to humanities scholars that it only needs mentioning because of the continued monocultural researches of some in other fields related to the study of emotions. The ways in which genre constructs and is constructed by emotions deserve further study; our cases provide further evidence that genre limits and constrains emotional practices—again over the long term—although we would also suggest that emotional practices themselves create and help modify genres, as, for example, in the case of so-called ‘affective piety.’

Regarding the theoretical implications of the cases, which will be picked up again in the final chapter, the most important claim is that there is no substitute for the sort of close reading that connects vocabulary to genre, intellectual traditions, religious worldviews, culture, and society. Such readings put a limit on the grander forms of theoretical speculation and provide the fine-grained evidence required for theory development and the understanding of past cultures. The variety of uses of *affectus* and its cognates across our period do not support the reductive theories of cognition or mind associated with much thinking about affectivity in contemporary and psychological sciences or critical theory, which are largely physicalist. Equally, uses of *affectus* seen in the case studies do not allow theories of affect to pretend that emotional experience is purely discursive. This is the negative side of the positive claim that *affectus* is bound up in diverse cultural practices and intellectual systems and helps form cultures by infiltrating a range of cultural and intellectual domains. This, in turn, suggests that affectivity is itself a phenomenon that controls and shapes behaviours, institutions, social forms, and personal identity. One implication of the discourses in which *affectus* operates is that different writers across the long period from late antiquity to early modernity, albeit in different ways, thought that *affectus* could make and remake social relations and structures. Modern historians should not think of affect as a less primary category of analysis than, for example, political structures, subjectivity, religion, or gender. A final theoretical impulse suggested by our cases is perhaps less obvious, given our intensive focus on discursive factors. A theory of affect fit for the purpose of the study of premodernity will need to include attention to embodiment. It will need to be sensitive to

traces of experiences which historical actors found impossible to put into meaningful words, since, at least in some traditions, *affectus* could denote physical experience at the limits of language and meaning. Understanding *affectus* draws historians into narratives of anthropology, ethics, theology, cosmology, and eschatology, and into associated social, rhetorical, medical, political, and religious practices. We offer this collection in the hope that it may begin to clear a path and illuminate these diverse domains.

Notes

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- 1 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 2 Robert A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 3 William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); for ‘performatives,’ see John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- 4 They are less well suited to the study of the intersection of emotion and aesthetics, as Andrew Lynch argued in Michael Champion and Andrew Lynch, ‘Understanding Emotions: “The Things They Left Behind”,’ in *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe*, ed. idem (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), xxii–xxiii. On the social, political, and cultural power of these theoretical models, see Jan Plamper, ‘The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns,’ *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 237–265.
- 5 See, however, the essay by Naama Cohen-Hanegbi below, which points out that *affectus* is not as central as might be expected in medical discourses.
- 6 We use the term in Raymond Williams’s sense: ‘significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation; they are significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought.’ See Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 15.
- 7 Note, however, the careful and insightful study of Damien Boquet, *L’ordre de l’affect au Moyen Âge. Autour de l’anthropologie affective d’Aelred de Rievaulx* (Caen: Centre de recherches archéologiques et médiévales, 2005). See also his chapter ‘Affectivity in the Spiritual Writings of Aelred of Rievaulx,’ in *A Companion to Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 167–196. These studies point to the significance *affectus* and its wide semantic range. Juanita Ruys and Michael Champion, together with Yasmin Haskell and Raphaële Garrod, surveyed *affectus* and *affectio* in a recent article length study: ‘But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,’ *Rivista Storica Italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016): 521–543. Russ Leo has offered a study of Spinoza’s thought: ‘Affective Physics: *Affectus* in Spinoza’s *Ethica*,’ in *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis

- (London: Routledge, 2016), 33–50. On distinctions between passions, emotions, and affect more generally in the early modern period, see Kirk Essary, ‘Passions, Emotions, or Affections? On the Ambiguity of 16th-Century Terminology,’ *Emotion Review* 9, no. 4 (2017): 367–74.
- 8 See, for example, Anna Wierzbicka, ‘The “History of Emotions” and the Future of Emotion Research,’ *Emotion Review* 2, no. 3 (2010), 269–273; Douglas L. Cairns and Laurel Fulkerson, ‘Introduction,’ in *Emotions between Greece and Rome*, ed. Cairns and Fulkerson, BICS Supplement 125 (London: Institute for Classical Studies, 2015), 1–22, and Barbara H. Rosenwein, ‘Emotion Words,’ in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008), 93–106.
- 9 Ute Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling, 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- 10 Frevert, ‘Defining Emotions: Concepts and Debates over Three Centuries,’ in *Emotional Lexicons*, 10.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 As Rosenwein puts it in the well-known interview with Jan Plamper:

Finding an emotion word in a text is only the first step. Then it is necessary to see how frequently and in what context it is used, whether it is “gendered” in its use, and how it is expressed (forcefully, gently, with somatic accompaniments such as blushing, and so on). If this method is employed for each frequently mentioned emotion (noting also emotions that seem to be missing), eventually patterns should emerge—the outlines of an emotional community.

See Plamper, ‘The History of Emotions,’ 254. We would add that emotions should not be understood as secondary to categories such as gender, and attention to ways that emotions shape (and find their place in) arguments, genres, cultural practices, and institutional forms will also be important.

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1 The Failure of *affectus*

Affectiones and *constantiae* in Augustine of Hippo

Jonathan D. Teubner

‘Longing for the other world puts people to sleep in this world.’¹ Echoing Nietzsche, Martha Nussbaum presents what is the most common criticism of Augustine’s theology of the affections: an otherworld-directed appetite that disregards commitments to this world.² Nussbaum is not alone in her disapproval. Thomas Dixon offers a more pointed censure. Because Augustine, according to Dixon, theorized the affections as a single movement to God, ‘not a drop of affection was to be spilled on barren earthly terrain.’³ One must admit that these ethical criticisms of Augustine’s theology of the affections can sting, if not wound, an Augustinian account of the affections. Recent scholarship on the affections in Augustine’s thought has attempted to rescue Augustine from Nussbaum, Dixon, and Hannah Arendt.⁴ While there is value in this programme of rehabilitation,⁵ most scholars ignore the deep ambivalence towards the affections in Augustine’s thought. Nussbaum and Dixon (as well as Hannah Arendt) are picking up on a perplexing *aporia* in Augustine’s account: affections are both necessary and necessarily a failure. In light of this, I don’t think Augustine really needs saving, but rather needs clarification of how and why he thinks the affections fail and to what extent he sees their failure as intrinsic to human ways of knowing, loving, and living. In other words, how is it that Augustine is both a champion of the affections and a pessimist for their ultimate utility?

Notwithstanding the responses to Nussbaum et al., scholarship on Augustinian affections has turned to questions regarding ‘therapies’ for those unreliable things called ‘emotions.’ One of the most philologically and philosophically developed contributions has been Sarah Byers’ *Perception, Sensibility, and Moral Motivation in Augustine*.⁶ Byers weaves together reflection on Augustine’s psychology with what she takes to be the practices Augustine offers as ‘affective therapies,’ or the ways in which the human is supposed to respond to, and with, human affections.⁷ Byers rightly places Augustine in a broader late-antique problematic of affections as unpredictable and unreliable but still somehow the essential ‘stuff’ of human existence.⁸ Byers finds further continuities in Augustine’s attempt to provide therapies for these wayward affections. But, as James Wetzel has argued, this approach can ignore the profound

break that Augustine experienced in the mid-390s from all programmes of self-improvement that are not initiated and sustained by divine gift.⁹ For Wetzel, Augustine's evolution included a steady rejection of the Stoic psychology, largely taken from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, that entails human ability to consent to wise desires. The conditions, motives, and sources of consent are far too complex to credit the human with anything like straightforward consent. Wetzel, it seems, matches Byers' optimism for rehabilitation with pessimism born from world-weariness: the first and most profound affection in the life of the human is the grief over the soul's loss of God.

Byers' 'optimism' and Wetzel's 'pessimism' represent two (heuristic) poles around which most reflection on the affections in Augustine's thought can be organized. In this essay, I want to pivot off this heuristic and propose a middle way between the two: I do not think that Augustine ever fully abandoned programmes or therapies to rehabilitate the affections, but that the form these programmes take after the 390s, and most poignantly after 410 when so much in Augustine's world could be seen as unstable and in flux, is almost unrecognizable as a 'programme' or 'therapy.' The form of this programme of rehabilitation is illustrated, I believe, by the practice of prayer, theologically understood. Despite the preponderance of affective language in Augustine's reflections, prayer has not yet become a focus in the scholarship on the affections. A case in point is that Byers asserts that 'Prayer itself is not one of Augustine's recommended affective therapies.'¹⁰ I shall argue instead that prayer, for Augustine, is a privileged site of the work of the Holy Spirit, who moulds human *affectiones* into *constantiae*, that is, into affections corresponding to the perfected state of reason.

Locating Augustine's Discourse on the Affections

The contention at the centre of this essay is theological in nature and has two components. First, Augustine's discussion of affections is illuminated by the context of his teaching on prayer. The basis for this is that Augustine locates the discourse on prayer in both the body and the soul,¹¹ a dual focus that Augustine stipulates for the affections as well.¹² And second, Augustine's theory of the affections cannot be reconstructed without recourse to his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The upshot of this is that Augustine's account of the affections must be considered as a theological account, a consequence of which is that when we try to parse what he means by this or that term, we should not lose track of the fact that Augustine was ultimately driven by his vocation as bishop, pastor, and monk.

It is nevertheless still helpful to locate Augustine's use of *constantia* within the broader Latin philosophical tradition. The immediate provenance of *constantia* in Augustine's thought is Cicero's

Libri tusculanarum disputationum, 4.6.11, and *De officiis*, 1.111 and 1.125.¹³ For Cicero, *constantiae* are the positive motions of the soul that correspond to the negative perturbations.¹⁴ Another possible source is Seneca, who largely follows Cicero's usage of *constantia*.¹⁵ For Seneca, *inconstantia* as a kind of disorder is arguably just as important.¹⁶ Despite its conceptual importance, there is relatively little written that directly discusses *constantia* in Augustine's thought. Gerard O'Daly argues for its importance in Augustine's commentaries on Genesis and glosses it as 'ethical stability' and 'consistency.'¹⁷ Beyond this, there is very little philological reflection on *constantia* in Augustine's thought.

Most interpreters choose to reflect on the affections in Augustine's thought by engaging his theological anthropology. This theological location of Augustine's discourse does not, however, dissolve any of the complex terminological issues.¹⁸ As with so many other areas of Augustine's thought, there is very little stability in the precise terminology he uses. However, by looking at the nexus of the affections, prayer, and pneumatology, we might be able to observe how *affectus* and *affectio* interrelate with other 'affective' terms such as *amor* and *concupiscentia*. In approaching Augustine's affective language in this way, we will also be able to see that Augustine's seemingly erratic borrowing of peripatetic and stoic language from Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* in his *De civitate Dei*, 14, is in service of a more general theological or 'spiritual' project.

A Stoic-Biblical Synthesis

Augustine's early reflections on the affections are, as I have already intimated, indebted to Cicero's efforts to Latinize some Hellenistic psychological theories in his *Tusculan Disputations*. In these reflections, one senses that Augustine is attempting to tame the affections and make them sensible. In the first book of *De libero arbitrio* (388), Augustine offers an account that reveals just such an effort to control the affections: an involuntary impression that something has or is about to happen is followed by a judgement about that impression. The judgement is distinguished from the impression by the act of consent (*consentio*), and Augustine uses this caesura between impression and judgement to locate human agency: while we cannot control the impressions that happen to us, we can choose to consent or dissent from them. Augustine will later find fault with this view as it is based on a fiction or, at least, a naive rendition of human consent (can we really just so simply accept or reject these impressions without being deeply impacted by our history of encounters over which we have had very little, if any, control?). Augustine's sustained attempt to discredit this view comes in his *City of God* (*De civitate Dei*), 9.4, and is based, as Wetzel points out, on a

deliberate misreading of an anecdote from *Attic Nights*, a journal of the second-century amateur philosopher Aulus Gellius.¹⁹

It is important not to overemphasize the extent to which Augustine unhooked himself from a 'stoic construct,' as Augustine was never deeply committed to one philosophical camp over another.²⁰ In response to Richard Sorabji's criticisms of Augustine's reconstruction of Stoic arguments,²¹ Wetzel denominates the Stoicism Augustine seeks to refute as a 'construct,' which 'allowed Augustine to construct a sinful experience of temptation out of what counts, for Stoics, as simply bodily agitation.'²² This promiscuity allowed Augustine to pick up many aspects of Stoicism through his lifelong reading of Cicero.²³ But whatever engagement Augustine had with Cicero in particular, or Stoicism in general after 410, must be balanced by the greater role biblical categories play in his thinking.

A case in point is how Augustine handles the concept of the will (*voluntas*) in *City of God*, 14. Much has been made of Augustine's theory of the will in general and its application to his discussion of the affections in particular. While it is far from clear whether Augustine did in fact provide a critical clarification of the will (it could equally be argued that he helpfully obscures a notion of the will), the will (*voluntas*) would indeed be central to any psychological reconstruction of Augustine's account of the affections in *City of God*, 14. 'Universally, as a man's will (*voluntas*) is attracted or repelled by the variety of things which are pursued or avoided,' Augustine argues, 'so it changes and turns into affections (*affectiones*) of one kind or the other.'²⁴ As Augustine goes on to say, 'For if the will is perverse, the movements of the will (*motus*) will be perverse; but if it is righteous, they will not only be blameless, but praiseworthy.'²⁵ Augustine goes on to stipulate that desire (*cupiditas*) and joy (*laetitia*) are simply *voluntas* in consent with what we want, and fear (*metus*) and grief (*tristitia*) are *voluntas* in dissent with what we do not want.²⁶ At the bottom of it all is the quality of a person's will.

Unfortunately, pushing the issue towards the quality of *voluntas* does not solve much, for it falls short of anything that might secure a position from which a person can properly classify an impression as worthy of consent. Augustine himself seems discontent to allow *voluntas* to have the final word:

A righteous will (*voluntas*), then, is a good love (*bonus amor*); and a perverted will is an evil love (*malus amor*). Therefore, love striving to possess what it loves is desire (*cupiditas*); love possessing and enjoying what it loves is joy (*laetitia*); love fleeing what is adverse to it is fear (*metus*); and love undergoing such adversity when it occurs is grief (*tristitia*). Accordingly, these feelings are bad if the love is bad, and good if it is good.²⁷

This pivot to love does not seem to advance any kind of analytic clarity, at least not the kind that might provide somebody with the position from which she could evaluate an impression and successfully categorize it as *bonus* or *malus*. What Augustine does achieve here is a scripturally sourced defence of desire, joy, fear, and grief distinct from the stoic rejection of them as *perturbationes* or *passiones*.²⁸ But this still seems a meagre offering considering the centrality of the affections.

While shifting the theoretical centre to *voluntas* and, by extension, *amor*, did not seem to offer much of an analytical payoff, it did expose Augustine's commitment to thinking through this problem with Cicero in the head and Scripture in the hand. Augustine begins to diverge from a stoic construct in two respects. First, Augustine's identity as a citizen of the City of God is the beginning point for any classificatory regime of 'impressions':

We Christians, on the other hand, are citizens of the Holy City of God, living according to God during the pilgrimage of this present life. Such citizens feel fear and desire, pain and gladness, but in a manner consistent with the Holy Scriptures and wholesome doctrine; and because their love is righteous, all these affections are righteous in them.²⁹

Augustine's partisanship is clearly summarized by his flippant attitude to the stoic classification: 'If these motions and affections, which come from the love of the good and from holy charity, are to be called vices, then let us allow that real vices should be called virtues.'³⁰ The point is not some objective classificatory regime, but rather one's citizenship in the City of God or the City of Man. And second, a Christian is not only moved for his or her own sake, but for others as well: '[Citizens of the City of God] also feel [these affections] on behalf of those whom they desire to see redeemed and fear to see perish. They feel pain if these do perish, and gladness if they are redeemed.'³¹ In both respects, the underlying phenomenon of the affections is, for Augustine, radically communal. There is, then, a surprising return to the passions of the Colosseum, a taste of which Augustine describes in his friend Alypius's relapse in *Confessions*, 6: '[Alypius] was one of the throng he came into He beheld, shouted, kindled, carried then with him the madness.'³² While Alypius's affections are, in the classification Augustine presents in *City of God*, 14.7–8, 'bad' loves, they are undoubtedly born from the communal experience of the amphitheatre.

Alypius's error at that time was not, then, that he felt passion or even that he was caught up in a communal mood that anyone attending a sporting event today could recognize. Rather, it had to do with both the object and the fellow subjects of the affections. As with so much else,

for Augustine, the example of Paul delineates the difference between the communal passions of the Colosseum and those of the City of God:

The citizens of the City of God are delighted to behold [Paul] with the eyes of faith. They behold him rejoicing with those who rejoice and weeping with those who weep, troubled by fighting without and fears within, desiring to depart and be with Christ.³³

Two features of this account are salient to reconstruct Augustine's understanding of the affections. First, citizens of the City of God watch and take part in the passions of their community with the 'eyes of faith.' And second, their ultimate desire is to be with Christ. Alypius failed on both accounts: he watched the gladiators spill their blood with the eyes of the flesh, desiring nothing beyond his own immediate titillation.

The 'holy affections' of a true citizen of the City of God are, then, sourced from within the examples of the Christian community. As radical as this may sound, it does not initiate a reimagining of the psychological process itself. The case in point is how Augustine writes about the manner in which Christ displayed his human affections: '[Christ] accepted these emotions (*motus*) into His own soul (*animus*) for the sake of His own assured purpose.'³⁴ Christ, it seems, is not only displaying human affections and thereby sanctioning them as holy, but endorsing a stoic construct for processing such affections. But the problem for Augustine is that Christ's experience of the affections differs from the experience the rest of us have. We imagine Augustine searching for some objective place to judge the correct affective response to impressions. Augustine can now see why this search necessarily failed. Whereas he, along with the rest of humanity, responds to impressions involuntarily, Christ does so through his own power. Christ, it might seem, is envisioned as a stoic sage, the true philosopher. The rest of us are not so perfectly stoic.

Living into Vulnerability

What, then, is the actual difference between Augustine's account and the construction of Stoicism Augustine offers? The difference between Augustine and his stoic predecessors is, at the bottom, a different conception of the soul or 'self,' one that imagines that humans are not only overwhelmed by their impressions, but also informed by the responses of their community. Wetzel has described this uniquely Augustinian self as being 'more porous' and as having 'less of a capacity to keep others and their otherness on the outside.'³⁵ This porous self is informed, as we have seen, by Scripture's own way of talking about the affections. How does this intersect with what I am calling a stoic construct? Let us recall one of Gillian Clark's sage warnings: Augustine 'did not write as

a philosopher who expected to debate with other philosophers and to be challenged on his inconsistent use of terms.’³⁶ His immediate focus was, as Clark explains, ‘on the exposition of Scripture which teaches us how to live in the city of God.’³⁷

The critical distinction for Augustine in *City of God*, 14.9, is not that between a ‘Christian’ and ‘stoic’ construct of the affections, but rather a distinction internal to Christian discourse between righteous (temporal) affections and blessed (eternal) affections. The temptation to think that humanity is left to wallow in disordered emotion here on earth is great. But this misunderstands the value Augustine places on earthly affections and how those differ from the affections of the life to come³⁸:

We must, however, confess that the affections (*affectiones*) which we have, even when they are righteous and according to God, belong to this life, and not to the life for which we hope; and that we often yield to them even against our will.³⁹

The warp and woof of righteous affections is not some paradox for Augustine, but rather part and parcel of what it means to live righteously in a fallen world. To experience affections otherwise would, in fact, be a betrayal of earthly righteousness: ‘If we felt no such affections at all while subject to the infirmity of this life, we should then certainly not be living righteously. For the apostle condemned and denounced certain persons who, he said, were without affection.’⁴⁰ Righteous affections of this life are not only communicated through tears and weeping, but can be brought on inadvertently and without control. Affections are, in this life, a kind of tragedy—events outside our control conspire to awake in us passions that frighten us for the very reason that we find that righteous living is not characterized by a secured possession of our interior life.

Augustine, however, is no tragic thinker. And thus the tragedy of earthly affections is not the end of the story for him:

We must, then, lead a righteous life if we are to attain a life of blessedness; and such a righteous life will exhibit all these affections righteously, whereas a perverse life exhibits them perversely. Moreover, a life which is blessed and, by the same token, eternal, will exhibit a love and a gladness which are not only righteous, but also assured, and will contain no fear or pain at all.⁴¹

While the affections of this life have a kind of integrity, they find their ‘righteousness’ only within an eschatological framework that puts the Christian pilgrim on the redemptive trajectory from temporal to eternal existence.⁴² The ‘uncontrollable’ affections of this world are righteous not because they represent adequate responses to the world, but because they mould humanity into blessed creatures. Whereas the citizens of the

earthly city either experience no affection or are convulsed by the movements of their soul without purpose beyond their momentary titillation, pilgrims to the heavenly city feel affections that reshape and reform their souls. Paradoxically, this is not achieved through sealing up the holes in our porous selves, but rather by exposing more and more of ourselves to the vagaries of this life. The distinction between Christ's affections and fallen humanity's righteous affections is that Christ is perfect in weakness—his very weakness came from his power.⁴³ For Augustine, fallen humans are too guarded, too frightened, to allow such righteous affections to truly overwhelm us.

Affections as a Spiritual Project

There is some distance between allowing oneself to be overwhelmed by affections and having some process for remoulding and refashioning the soul through affections. It seems prudent to accept, à la Wetzell, that Augustine did not think there was a fully perfected practice of rehabilitation available to earthly humans, but it does not seem likely that Augustine would have left his flock wallowing in their affections. In *Ep.* 130, we can see Augustine attempting to split these very horns in advice to Proba, the wealthy Roman widow who fled the Goths to North Africa. Augustine envisions prayer as a practice accessible to all Christians which neither overemphasizes the human contribution nor leaves the supplicant resourceless. Critically, it is through the failure of prayer that the Holy Spirit intercedes for Augustine to remould the potentially overwhelming affections as *constantiae*.

More so even than in the *Confessions*, the affections, prayer, and the Holy Spirit are intensely interwoven in *Ep.* 130. Around the year 410, Proba had written to Augustine inquiring about how she ought to pray, and *Ep.* 130 is Augustine's response. This letter, which is Augustine's most developed theological account of prayer, encompasses a wide range of issues within prayer, but I will focus on Augustine's discussion of the Pauline conundrum 'we do not know what to pray as we ought' (Rom. 8:26), drawing out what I take to be Augustine's theological framing of the affections. This conundrum is often taken either as the problem that we do not know *what* to pray, or as the problem that we do not know *how* to pray.⁴⁴ For Augustine, it is the *what* of prayer that will help him decipher the *how* of prayer. As we shall see, Augustine submerges the desire for the *beata vita* into the disquietude of not knowing how and what to pray. It is in and through this spiritual unease that the Holy Spirit teaches us to 'groan,' transforming our anxieties into patient expectation. The affections are indeed oriented towards their goal of beatitude, but not in the way that Nussbaum and others fear.

The *beata vita* is in Augustine a curious concept and has been subject to a myriad of confusions. The *beata vita* is subtly domesticated by the

suggestion that it is simply a species of eudaimonism appended by ‘an afterlife with continuous personal identity.’⁴⁵ As highlighted in *De vera religione* and *De sermone Domini in monte*, Augustine emphasizes that the *beata vita* is only realized in the next life,⁴⁶ and he warns in his exposition of Psalm 87 against the temptation to infer from this life to the next.⁴⁷ The *beata vita* is, therefore, not so much an issue of the continuity of personality, but rather of the existential discontinuity between the present life and the afterlife. A consequence of this eschatological location of the *beata vita* is that one’s temporal desire for the *beata vita* is disturbed. I take the *beata vita* to be a state of affairs, and while a temporal state of affairs can be reasonably desired, an eternal state of affairs, such as the *beata vita*, falls outside the domain of knowable states of affairs. Because desires are indexed to the concrete conditions of one’s life, one might initially conclude that one’s temporal desires will not adequately ‘aim’ at the right object if it is somehow outside of one’s life. Augustine, however, relies on the Holy Spirit to address this problem of temporal desire, taking the *beata vita* as its intentional object.

The question about how to pray that Augustine finds in Paul’s letter to the Romans reveals for him the underlying psychology of prayer. Augustine juxtaposes his views with what he takes to be the practice of prayer in the Egyptian ascetic tradition. Augustine writes to Proba:

The brothers in Egypt are said to say frequent prayers, but very brief ones that are tossed off as if in a rush, so that a vigilant and keen intention, which is very necessary for one who prays, may not fade away and grow dull over longer periods.⁴⁸

In responding to this, Augustine seems to endorse the practice, but not the underlying psychology:

Much talking is one thing, a lasting affection (*diuturnus affectus*) is another ... For to speak much in praying is to do something necessary with superfluous words, but to petition (*precari*) him to whom we pray (*precari*) is to knock with a long and pious stirring of the heart (*diuturna et pia cordis excitatione pulsare*). For this task (*negotium*) is very often carried out more with sighs than with words (*plus gemitibus quam sermonibus*), more with weeping than with speaking (*plus fletu quam affatu*).⁴⁹

Augustine is very clear: to pray without ceasing is to *desire* without ceasing the happy life, and to use words is thus to remind oneself of this state of affairs. Moreover, the media of prayer are sighs and weeping more so than words and speaking. The desire for the *beata vita* is thus expressed through these emotions, which one might negatively judge as *perturbationes*, but which function, in fact, as *affectiones*. The sighs and

weeping of prayer involve the will, as do all emotions for Augustine, and the object of the will is what distinguishes between discordant and concordant sighs and weeping.⁵⁰ There are, after all, Augustine's youthful tears for the doleful and tragic scenes of the theatre as well as his tears for the death of his mother. Likewise, Monica's tears for her son are a kind of prayer for a state of affairs that she will soon envision and one day experience.

This affective account of prayer makes it, then, somewhat awkward that Augustine now wants to address the Lord's Prayer to fill in what exactly Proba ought to be saying when she is praying. Augustine does this for a deeply theological reason. In *Sermon 56*, preached to those seeking baptism around the same time as *Ep. 130*, Augustine suggests that 'the words our Lord Jesus Christ has taught us in his prayer give us the framework of true affections.'⁵¹ The petitions of the Lord's Prayer are those of the Son for the Father, and to pray rightly one must enter into the Son's petitions, the very desire of the Son for the Father. It is not, then, simply using words to pray, but more specifically the fact that praying the Lord's Prayer *stabilizes* affections. The importance of the Lord's Prayer is not because it provides words, but rather because the petitions represent what our affections ought to be and must be if human affection is to be for the *beata vita*. The Lord's Prayer is, in other words, the framework for *affectiones* to become *constantiae*.

But this is rarely how things work out in reality. Paul is a case in point for Augustine. Augustine highlights that even Paul did not know how to pray because the object of his prayer is such that 'we cannot think of it as it is.'⁵² Paul's prayer for his 'thorn of the flesh' to be removed, just as any other human supplication would, improperly expressed prayer's desire for the *beata vita*. It is, however, in this failure of prayer that the Holy Spirit emerges to 'intercede for us with inexpressible groans.' Quoting Rom 8:26–27 in full, Augustine accounts for the Holy Spirit not as a divine version of intercessory prayer, for the Spirit is 'immutable God in the Trinity' and thus does not intercede as a human would. Rather, the Holy Spirit is that which *actualizes* human prayer:

He makes the saints intercede with inexpressible groans, therefore, when he inspires them with the desire for so great a still unknown reality, which they await in patience. How, after all, do we express, how do we desire what we do not know?⁵³

Only in the Holy Spirit can humans pray for the *beata vita*; only by virtue of the Holy Spirit's groaning and weeping are humans' sighs and weeping directed towards the *beata vita*. By the Holy Spirit transforming *affectiones* into *constantiae*, human emotions transcend their temporality, their instability—in short, their potential to be undone by their origin. Alas, none of this takes away the emotions' earthiness.

The Hopeful Failure of Affections

As we have seen, the central project for fallen humanity is not concerned with excluding discordant affections, but rather with the place of these affections in the life of a pilgrim. As Augustine memorably states in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 121: ‘We travel not by foot but by our affections.’⁵⁴ But the rehabilitation of affection occurs then through the continual give-and-take of life lived with others. These others have their own passions and affections, and enjoying *concordia* with others is not simply a matter of waiting for them to rid their discordant affections. Rather, *concordia* results from patiently living with their affections, trusting that just as yours are being transformed into *constantiae*, so too are theirs. If we can say that the rehabilitation of affection occurs through the give-and-take of community life, we should also be able to say that prayer as a practice of the church does not primarily divinize the community but rather establishes the church as a community whose common humanity is emphasized by the way its members patiently bear one another. Only when the church has purchase on eternity through the Holy Spirit does it escape from its desires being ‘overwhelmed in time.’⁵⁵ Yet the Spirit does not offer the church liberation from the constant struggle of time or the promise that our projects will not falter.

The Spirit, according to Augustine, makes it possible for humans to pray for that which they do not know. This is not simply some epistemic transfer—in fact, it is not properly epistemic at all—but rather it makes possible the necessary condition for patience, that is, the discovery of our limits. If you could do, you would; it is only in cases where we discover our limits that we are, for Augustine, forced into the posture of patience. This is the sense in which we are meant to understand Augustine’s distillation of the Lord’s Prayer into the single petition: ‘not as I will but as you will, Father.’ The point is not to communicate to Proba that she ought to renounce her will *tout court*, but rather that the movement of her will—the affection for the *beata vita*—is achieved through her patience—with herself and with others.

There is, however, a danger in the temptation to sanctify affections as the work of the Holy Spirit. How am I to know when my temporal affections are being transformed into *constantiae*? The actual experience of the affection does not seem to change according to Augustine’s reading of Romans 8. So how do I know that I am not delusional and possibly permitting terrible acts of evil, committed by myself or by others? The protection against this danger, Augustine instructs Proba, are works of charity. If your patience translates into works of charity, particularly almsgiving, you will know that it is the ‘life of hope.’ Prayer is not simply social by its form but also by virtue of the other practices it draws into itself as the sum of the Christian life. ‘The fountain of life is found,’

Augustine explains to Proba, in that ‘which we thirst for in our prayers, so long as we live in hope.’⁵⁶ The life of hope is, for Augustine, the form of life in which longing for the *beata vita* is found. This longing, however, does not sever our connections from society. To the contrary, prayer as the ‘school of hope’ is sustained and nourished by acts of charity, without which we would not be able to discern the direction of our affections. But hope is also a kind of desire for the *beata vita* that is characterized by patience, and as such is its own distinctive movement of the will, with the caveat that, because its movement is the Holy Spirit’s, hope is experienced as non-movement.

Cultivating *constantiae* requires a risk. One has to accept the affections she has, trusting that, through the work of grace, they will become ‘holy desires.’ When Augustine instructs Proba to ‘pray for the happy life,’⁵⁷ he is calling her into that which necessarily fails. Augustine implicitly acknowledges the failure of the temporal desire for beatitude, yet, as Paul does in Romans, he simultaneously indicates how emotions might succeed (if in fact they do).

Notes

- 1 Martha C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 553.
- 2 For her full response to Augustine on the affections or ‘emotions,’ see Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 527–556.
- 3 Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 55.
- 4 See, *inter alia*, Sarah Stewart-Kroeker, ‘World-Weariness and Augustine’s Eschatological Ordering of Emotions in *en. Ps. 36*,’ *Augustinian Studies* 47, no. 2 (2016): 201–226; James Wetzel, ‘Prodigal Heart: Augustine’s Theology of the Emotions,’ in *Parting Knowledge: Essays after Augustine*, ed. James Wetzel (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2013), 81–96; Sarah Byers, ‘The Psychology of Compassion: Stoicism in *City of God* 9.5,’ in *Augustine’s City of God: A Critical Guide*, ed. James Wetzel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 130–148; Paul Griffiths, ‘Tears and Weeping: An Augustinian View,’ *Faith and Philosophy* 28, no. 1 (2011): 19–28; James Wetzel, *Augustine: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York: Continuum Books, 2010), 11–43; Eric Gregory, *Politics and the Order of Love* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008); John Cavadini, ‘Feeling Right: Augustine on the Passions and Sexual Desire,’ *Augustinian Studies* 36, no. 1 (2005): 195–217; Anastasia Scrutton, ‘Emotion in Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas: A Way Forward for the Im/passibility Debate?,’ *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 7, no. 2 (April 2005): 169–177; Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions*; Nancy A. Jones, ‘By Woman’s Tears Redeemed: Female Lament in St. Augustine’s “Confessions” and the Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise,’ in *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*, ed. Barbara K. Gold, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 15–39; William Werpehowski, ‘Weeping at the Death of Dido: Sorrow, Virtue, and Augustine’s “Confessions”,’ *Journal of Religious Ethics* 19, no. 1 (1991): 175–191.

- 5 See, for example, Augustine's rehabilitation of grief (*tristitia*) in *De civitate Dei*, 14.7, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993), 2: 14–16.
- 6 Sarah Byers, *Perception, Sensibility, and Moral Motivation in Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- 7 Ibid., 151–171.
- 8 *De civ. Dei*, 9.4.
- 9 Wetzel, 'Prodigal Heart,' 89.
- 10 Byers, *Perception*, 153.
- 11 *De magistro*, 1.2 and *De sermone Domini in monte*, 2.3.11.
- 12 *De civ.*, 14.2–5.
- 13 *De officiis*, 1.125 was likely the source for Ambrose's use of *constantia* in *De officiis ministrorum*, 1.47.230; see Ivor J. Davidson's commentary in *Ambrose: De Officiis*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2: 656.
- 14 Johannes Brachtendorf, 'Cicero and Augustine on the Passions,' *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 43 (1997): 289–308.
- 15 See, for example, *De constantia sapientis*, 7.8.3, 9.1.3, 11.2.3, and 12.18.8.
- 16 *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, 20.4, 32.2, 85.7, and 104.14; for an overview of this theme, see John Cooper, 'The Emotional Life of the Wise,' *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* 43 (2005): 176–218.
- 17 Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's Philosophy of Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 24 and 61.
- 18 For the sake of convenience, I use the decidedly modern term 'emotion' as a close-enough proxy for *motus* or *motus animae*, but also, following Byers, as a general term encompassing 'passions' (*passiones*, *perturbationes*, and *libido*) and 'affections' (*affectus*, *affectiones*). As Byers says, 'Emotions are caused by judgments, passions by assent to false propositions, and affections by assent to true propositions. Passions are "morally bad emotions" and affections are "morally good emotions"' (*Perception*, 57).
- 19 Wetzel, 'Prodigal Heart,' 85.
- 20 Gillian Clark, 'Caritas: Augustine on Love and Fellow Feeling,' in *Hope, Joy, and Affection in the Classical World*, ed. Ruth R. Caston and Robert A. Kaster (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 209–225, 225.
- 21 Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 375–384.
- 22 Wetzel, 'Prodigal Heart,' 85.
- 23 Augustine famously encountered Cicero very early in life as recorded in *Conf.*, 3.4.7 (*Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. Martin Skutella [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012]), and Cicero's influence is most pronounced in Augustine's early Cassiciacum dialogues: see Michael P. Foley, 'Cicero, Augustine, and the Philosophical Roots of the Cassiciacum Dialogues,' *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 45 (1999): 51–77. There are also over 120 references to Cicero in *De civitate*, so Cicero is undoubtedly a consistent influence throughout Augustine's oeuvre. Regarding the depth of Augustine's engagement, see Marcia Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Leiden, Brill, 1985), 2: 142–238.
- 24 *De civ.*, 14.6, trans. Robert W. Dyson, *Augustine: The City of God against the Pagans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 590: 'Et omnino pro varietate rerum, quae appetuntur atque fugiuntur, sicut allicitur vel offenditur voluntas hominis, ita in hos vel illos affectus mutatur et vertitur.'
- 25 *De civ.*, 14.6, trans. Dyson, 590: 'Quia si perversa est, perversos hos motus; si autem recta est, non solum inculpabiles, verum etiam laudabiles erunt.'

- 26 *De civ.*, 14.6, trans. Dyson, 590: ‘Voluntas est quippe in omnibus; immo omnes nihil aliud quam voluntates sunt. Nam quid est cupiditas et laetitia nisi voluntas in eorum consensione quae volumus? Et quid est metus atque tristitia nisi voluntas in dissensione ab his quae nolumus?’
- 27 *De civ.*, 14.7, trans. Dyson, 592: ‘Recta itaque voluntas est bonus amor et voluntas perversa malus amor. Amor ergo inhians habere quod amatur, cupiditas est, id autem habens eoque fruens laetitia; fugiens quod ei adversatur, timor est, idque si acciderit sentiens tristitia est. Proinde mala sunt ista, si malus amor est; bona, si bonus.’
- 28 *De civ.*, 14.8, trans. Dyson, 593: ‘Sic ergo illi loquuntur, ut velle gaudere cavere negent nisi sapientem; stultum autem non nisi cupere laetari, metuere contristari; et illas tres esse constantias, has autem quattuor perturbationes secundum Ciceronem, secundum autem plurimos passiones.’
- 29 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 597: ‘Apud nos autem iuxta scripturas sanctas sanamque doctrinam cives sanctae civitatis Dei in huius vitae peregrinatione secundum Deum viventes metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, et quia rectus est amor eorum, istas omnes affectiones rectas habent.’
- 30 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 599: ‘Hi motus, hi affectus de amore boni et de sancta caritate venientes si vitia vocanda sunt, sinamus, ut ea, quae vere vitia sunt, virtutes vocentur.’
- 31 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 598: ‘Non solum autem propter se ipsos his mouentur affectibus, verum etiam propter eos, quos liberari cupiunt et ne pereant metuunt, et dolent si pereunt et gaudent si liberantur.’
- 32 *Conf.*, 6.8.13, ed. Skutella, 112: ‘Et non erat iam ille qui venerat sed unus de turba ad quam venerat, et verus eorum socius a quibus adductus erat. quid plura? spectavit, clamavit, exarsit, abstulit inde secum insaniam qua stimularetur redire non tantum cum illis a quibus prius abstractus est, sed etiam prae illis et alios trahens.’
- 33 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 598: ‘oculis fidei libentissime spectant gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus, foris habentem pugnans, intus timores, cupientem dissolui et esse cum Christo.’
- 34 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 599: ‘Verum ille hos motus certae dispensationis gratia ita cum voluit suscepit animo humano.’
- 35 Wetzel, *Augustine*, 12.
- 36 Clark, ‘*Caritas*’, 225.
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 For a similar rendition, see Robert C. Roberts, *Emotions: An Essay in Aid of Moral Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 35; I am indebted to Stewart-Kroeker, ‘World-Weariness,’ for this connection.
- 39 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 599: ‘Proinde, quod fatendum est, etiam cum rectas et secundum Deum habemus has affectiones, huius vitae sunt, non illius, quam futuram speramus, et saepe illis etiam inviti cedimus.’
- 40 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 599–600: ‘Sed dum vitae huius infirmitatem gerimus, si eas omnino nullas habeamus, tunc potius non recte vivimus. Vituperabat enim et detestabatur apostolus quosdam, quos etiam esse dixit sine affectione.’
- 41 *De civ.*, 14.9, trans. Dyson, 601: ‘Quae cum ita sint, quoniam recta vita ducenda est, qua perveniendum sit ad beatam, omnes affectus istos vita recta rectos habet, perversa perversos. Beata vero eademque aeterna amorem habebit et gaudium non solum rectum, verum etiam certum; timorem autem ac dolorem nullum.’
- 42 Stewart-Kroeker, ‘World-Weariness,’ and *Pilgrimage and Moral and Aesthetic Formation in Augustine’s Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

- 43 *De civ.*, 14.9: ‘non autem ita Dominus Iesus, cuius et infirmatis fuit ex potestate.’
- 44 For discussion on Augustine’s hermeneutical forays into Romans, see Thomas F. Martin, ‘*Modus inveniendi Paulum*: Augustine, Hermeneutics, and His Reading of Romans,’ in *Engaging Augustine on Romans: Self, Context, and Theology in Interpretation*, eds. Daniel Patte and Eugene TeSelle (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), 63–89.
- 45 See, for example, Byers, *Perception*, 72.
- 46 *De vera religione*, 27.50, ed. Joseph Martin. CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 219–220; *De sermone Domini in monte*, 2.11.38, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher. CCSL 35 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), 128–130.
- 47 *En. Ps.*, 86.9, ed. D. Eloi Dekkers and Jean Fraipont. CCSL 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 1206–1207.
- 48 *Ep.* 130.10.20, ed. K. D. Daur. CCSL 31-31B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004–2009), trans. Roland Teske. WSA 2.1–4 (New York: New City Press, 2003), 193. ‘Dicuntur fratres in Aegypto crebras quidem habere orationes, sed eas tamen brevissimas, et raptim quodammodo iaculatas, ne illa vigilanter erecta, quae oranti plurimum necessaria est, per productiores moras evanescat atque hebetetur intentio.’
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 *De civ.*, 14.6.
- 51 *S.* 56: see *Sermones de novo testamento*, ed. P.-P. Verbraken, L. de Coninck, B. Coppieters ‘t Wallant, R. Demeulenaere, and F. Dolbeau. CCSL 41Aa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).
- 52 *Ep.* 130.14.27; trans. Teske, 197.
- 53 Ibid., 15.28; trans. Teske, 198.
- 54 *En. Ps.* 121.11, ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, 1811.
- 55 Wetzel, *Augustine*, 74.
- 56 *Ep.* 130.14.27.
- 57 *Ep.* 130.4.9: ‘Ora beatam uitam; hanc enim habere omnes homines uolunt.’

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2 *Affectus* in Medieval Grammar

Mark Amsler

Medieval grammar recruited the Latin concept word *affectus* to account for aspects of language structure and language use not explicitly or easily dealt with otherwise by *grammatica*'s traditional theory and terminology for articulation, morphology, parts of speech, and syntax. Medieval grammar inherited the descriptive terminology of Latin *grammatica*, but grammarians also invented a number of new theoretical and descriptive terms and concepts, including *affectus*, by adopting philosophical, especially Aristotelian, terms and concepts as well as by appropriating existing Latin words (such as *regimen*, *dependere*). In early medieval grammatical discourse, *affectus* is principally found in descriptions of the interjection (*interiectio*) as a part of speech, for example, emotive words such as 'Ouch!,' 'Alas!,' or 'OMG!.' Less frequently, the phrase *affectus animi* (or *mentis*) occurs in translations of Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* received through Boethius's Latin commentary. After the ninth century CE, the renewed influence of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* in grammatical discourse gradually enhanced *affectus* as a theoretical concept in the philosophy of mind, language, and reality, especially discussions of the communicative status of well formed, incomplete, or figurative constructions. In the thirteenth century, some commentators and philosophers of language distinguished signification under the *modus affectus* from signification under the *modus conceptus* to account for speech and behaviour stating a case (*actus significatus*) or functioning as a performative (*actus exercitus*).

To understand and translate disciplinary vocabulary, we need to pay attention to both the original and derived contexts and theory in which the terms function. *Affectus*, the Medieval Latin fourth declension noun, is derived from Classical Latin *adficio*, *adfectus* (past participle) (to grasp, cling to) and denoted the disposition or mood of the mind/soul, and perhaps the body, as influenced by something else. In Classical Latin, *adfectus* had positive and negative valences: 'endowed with' or 'impaired.' A few writers and orators used the term in phrases similar to those adopted later by the Latin grammarians. Cicero referred to 'animi adfectus' in his Stoic-informed *Tusculan Disputations*, while Ovid wrote of the 'adfectus tacito laetari' (feeling enjoyed by the silent) in reference

to Medea.¹ In late Classical Latin, *adfectus* could mean love or desire (Quintilian), a beloved one (Lucan), appetitive (often sexual) passion or desire (Seneca, Pliny), or, in legal contexts, will or volition (*Digest of Justinian*).² Both senses were carried over into Medieval Latin and vernacular usage, but not always in grammar. After the fourth century CE, *affectus* could mean ‘emotion’ or ‘feeling,’ ‘will’ or ‘intent,’ ‘disposition’ or ‘mood,’ depending on the context (Augustine, Boethius, *Digest of Justinian*).³ Only after the ninth century did *affectus* more regularly come to mean ‘affection’ or ‘devotion’ in the sense of religious piety or strong positive feelings of love or friendship towards another. Medieval vernaculars adopted the term in still broader religious, psychological, or cognitive contexts: *affecioun* (ME), *affecioun* (OF). The distinction between grammatical and religious uses of *affectus* became important and complex, as the writings of Anselm of Canterbury (1033/34–1109) and Roger Bacon (c. 1219/20–c. 1292) suggest.

Writing about language, Latin grammarians and purveyors of Aristotle such as Boethius (in his translation of *Peri Hermeneias*) sometimes used *passio* or *motus* as equivalent to *affectus* (‘*motus animi*,’ ‘*passiones animi*’). Late Latin grammar is a network of texts and commentaries. Latin grammarians repeated or paraphrased existing definitions and materials from Donatus’s *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* or earlier Roman grammarians such as Palaemon. However, they also introduced innovations into grammatical description, including using *affectus* as a term in technical grammar. As mentioned earlier, grammarians frequently used *affectus* (‘disposition, mood, emotional state’) in discussions of the *interiectio*. In contrast with Greek grammarians, Latin grammarians began to regard adverbs and interjections as separate parts of speech, the latter expressing the disposition of the mind or soul. Donatus’s (fourth century CE) definition of the interjection was standard in elementary grammars and their commentaries: the interjection is ‘*pars orationis significans mentis affectum voce incondita*’ (a part of speech signifying the disposition of the mind in a disordered voice).⁴ More functionally, Donatus explains that the ‘*Interiectio est pars orationis interiecta aliis partibus orationis ad exprimendos animi adfectus: aut metuentis, ut ei; aut optantis, ut o; aut dolentis, ut heu; aut laetantis, ut euax*’ (The interjection is the part of speech inserted into other parts of speech to express the disposition of the soul: either fearful, as *ei*; or desiring, as *o*; or sorrowful, as *heu*; or joyful, as *euax*).⁵ Other grammarians continued Donatus’s brief definitions; for example, Diomedes (fourth century CE) stated that ‘*interiectio est pars orationis affectum mentis significans voce*’ (the interjection is the part of speech signifying with speech the disposition of the mind/soul).⁶ In a move which would become important in the thirteenth century, Charisius (fourth century CE) restricts *affectus* in his definition of the interjection to what is instinctive or natural in vocal expression: ‘*Interiectiones sunt quae nihil docibile habent, significant,*

tamen adfectum animi, velut *heu eheu hem ehem eho hoe pop papae at attatae*’ (Interjections cannot be taught; nevertheless, they signify the disposition of the mind, such as *heu, eheu, hem, ehem, eho, hoe, pop, papae, at, attatae*).⁷

Some Latin grammarians and Isidore (d. 636 CE) used the term *affectus* to characterize a particular kind of utterance or feature expressing an emotional state of mind or disposition, and specific to an individual language. Pompeius and Cledonius (fifth century CE) in their commentaries on Donatus began to apply the concept of *affectus* to discourse rather than parts of speech: ‘ergo quidquid affectum exprimit, interiectio est ...’ (therefore whatever [utterance] expresses a mental mood is an interjection ...).⁸ Isidore’s influential encyclopaedia, *Etymologiae sive origines*, repeats the Latin grammarians’ association of *affectus* primarily with non-cognitive interjections and emotional, sudden, or disordered speech unique to individual languages: ‘Interiectio vocata, quia sermonibus interiecta, id est interposita, affectum commoti animi exprimit, sicut cum dicitur ab exultante “vah,” a dolente “heu,” ab irascente “hem,” a timente “ei.” Quae voces quarumcumque linguarum proprie sunt, nec in aliam linguam facile transferuntur’ (The *interjection* is so called because it is inserted, that is, interposed, into utterances [and] expresses the disposition of an agitated/excited mind, for example, when *vah* is said for joy, *heu* for sorrow, *hem* for anger, *ei* for fear. These utterances are proper to particular languages (and) cannot be easily translated into another language).⁹ Hebrew *Racha* (Matthew 5:22), roughly meaning ‘Fool!’, was sometimes cited as an example of an untranslatable interjection.

Affectus collocated in Late Latin and early medieval grammatical discourse with other descriptors which identify some linguistic expressions with sudden, explosive movements of the mind and disordered, excited, or elliptical speech: *motus, erupta, subito, passionēs, incondita*, and (*in*) *completus*. For Donatus, Servius, Diomedes, and other Latin grammarians, the speaker’s emotional or mental state (‘*affectus mentis*’) can make phonological, syntactic, or semantic features of an utterance irregular, but the utterance can still be communicative even though it violates the principal that meaningful speech is rational, rule-ordered, and conventional. Thus, grammarians’ discussions of interjections and *affectus* enlarge the traditional scope of *grammatica*. Strong emotions such as joy, sadness, or fear cause a person to speak with explosive, forceful accent, or use elliptical syntax, or alter the customary stress or articulation of particular words. In addition, fear, anger, and other strong feelings can cause the speaker to utter conventional interjections or different, seemingly non-linguistic sounds or ungrammatical speech, all of which can reveal or enact the speaker’s interior state of mind or feeling. Diomedes said that interjections are ‘*quae affectus potius quam observationes artis inducant*’ ([those parts of speech] which represent affect more than follow [grammatical] art/rules).¹⁰

Priscian (c. 500 CE) discussed the interjection and *affectus* in terms not substantively different from those of earlier Latin grammarians, but he presented a more elaborated, if somewhat disorganized, account with examples from Virgil and Terence. He claimed the interjection is a separate word class ‘quia videtur affectum habere in se verbi et plenam motus animi significationem, etiamsi non addatur verbum, demonstrare’ (because it seems to contain/render emotional disposition in the word itself and show the full meaning of the movement of the mind, even though it is not added/attached to the verb).¹¹ Priscian here distinguishes the interjection from the adverb according to the grammarians’ positional description of the adverb as adjacent to the verb (‘eo quod sit iuxta verbum’). Interjections as utterances express or signify mood or emotional disposition—*affectus*—in themselves rather than depending on another element in the clause. At one point, Priscian seems to conflate *affectus* and *passio* when he refers to ‘voces, quae cuiuscumque passionis animi pulsu per exclamationem intericiuntur’ (speech sounds which having pushed out some passion of the mind are interjected [into the utterance] through exclamation).¹² Like other Latin grammarians, Priscian associates *affectus* and the interjection with emotional disposition or behaviour which deviates from proper accentuation in speech or imitates inarticulate (that is, non-linguistic) sounds, such as giggles or expressions of disgust.¹³ In Priscian’s account, *affectus* in speech is materially transformative as well as expressive. Importantly, Priscian’s text became the basis upon which later grammarians and commentators developed more philosophical accounts of *affectus* in grammar.

Carolingian grammarians sometimes used *affectus* to address interiority and intentionality in grammatical discourse. Commentators suggest that interjective or incomplete (elliptical) utterances—clauses lacking an explicit subject or main verb—connote emotional *affectus* or disposition in ways which other parts of speech or complete utterances—clauses including a subject noun phrase and a predicate verb phrase (NP+VP)—do not. In other words, grammatical deviance performs strong affect. *Affectus* is never identified with neutral or empty emotionality. Smaragdus (ninth century CE), for example, collocates *affectus* and the interjection and makes explicit the role of *affectus* in mediating interior disposition and exterior verbal expression: “Interiectio” proprie dicitur vox confusa de mentis archano prolata, quae tantum ad hoc profertur in publicum, ut interioris hominis lucide demonstret affectum’ (The interjection is rightly called ‘confused speech’ having revealed the hidden mind, which part, to the extent it is expressed publicly by this [part of speech], clearly shows the disposition/emotional state of the inner person).¹⁴ Moving away from a strict word class description, Remigius of Auxerre (ninth century CE), in his influential commentary on Donatus’s *Ars maior*, argued that any utterance can be ‘interjectivized’ by inserting a conventional interjection (word [*Heu*] or phrase [*Deo gratias*])

into a statement or question.¹⁵ The primary function of all interjective utterances, he said, is to express ‘*affectus animi*.’¹⁶ In his commentary, Remigius argues two points regarding *affectus* which will become important in later medieval grammatical theory: first, that *affectus* in speech reveals the speaker’s interior emotional state through the form of expression, not just through the use of a particular kind of word; and second, that *affectus* is equated with the will or volition (‘*affectus dicitur desiderium, i[d est] voluntas*’).¹⁷

From the early twelfth century at the Universities of Paris and Oxford, some grammarians and philosophers began to rethink the traditional Latin word class framework for linguistic analysis by considering grammar in relation to logic and philosophy of mind. Philosophers such as Peter Abelard and William of Champeaux analysed grammatical questions using and critiquing frameworks from Aristotle and Priscian. Analyses of categorematic (substance, content) and syncategorematic (function) terms were reordered around the distinction between a word’s lexical meaning and its function in a sentence. Substantive words (noun, verb, adjective, adverb, pronoun, participle) signify essential properties of things, whereas indeclinables (preposition, conjunction, interjection) signify relations among things. In the early thirteenth century, the relations between grammatical rules, conventions, and speaker intentions were debated in commentaries on Priscian and grammatical treatises. Two new approaches to grammar emerged. The Aristotelian criteria for ‘science’ or ‘knowledge’ prompted grammarians such as Martin of Dacia, Boethius of Dacia, and Siger of Courtrai (thirteenth-century *modistae*) to found their language analysis on a realist ontology, and in their commentaries and treatises to combine Aristotle, Avicenna, and Augustine on signification to develop different ‘modes’ (*modi*) to structure the relations between language, thought, and reality. The *modi significandi* and *modi consignificandi* distinguished a word’s lexical meaning from its grammatical meaning and functions in sentences. A second group of theorists of language and semiotics, especially Roger Bacon (OF, 1214–1292) and Robert Kilwardby (OP, Archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1279), also combined Aristotle and Augustine on signification, but adopted an intentionalist approach to language and communication, focused more functionally on the speaker’s meaning in particular situations or contexts.

For both groups, the nature of the interjection and the theory of *affectus* were central, although for different reasons. Earlier, Peter Helias (fl. in Paris, d. c. 1166) had denied that interjections are a distinct word class, although he did allow for some conventional interjections as *partes* (e.g. *pap[a]e*, *heu*). According to Helias, if interjections properly are ‘*primitiva*’ and signify ‘*naturaliter*,’ then the interjection ‘*non esse partem orationis per se*’ (is not a part of speech per se). Interjections which signify ‘*ad placitum*’ (according to convention), such as ‘*pap[a]e*,’ should

be understood as a subclass of adverb.¹⁸ Helias was following Augustine, who claimed ‘Interiectio non pars orationis est, sed affectio erumpentis animi in vocem’ (the interjection is not a part of speech but a movement [*affectio*] of the mind bursting into speech).¹⁹ However, some later grammarians claimed that the interjection is not only a part of speech but also really, essentially, signifies mental experience, and therefore is part of grammar. The author of the Priscian commentary mistakenly attributed to Jordanus of Saxony (OP, c. 1190–1237), for example, pointedly distinguished two kinds of linguistic signification of reality with respect to interjections: ‘Interiectio significat rem existentem in anima secundum suam substantiam, sed aliae partes significant rerum similitudines’ (The interjection signifies reality in the mind according to its substance, but other parts [of speech] signify the likenesses of things).²⁰ The phrase ‘rem existentem in anima’ refers to interior affective experience as a substance (*res*), not to concepts or representations of external things.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the concept of *affectus* played a key role in rethinking grammatical theory around the relation of linguistic form to cognition, disposition, and expression. Many grammarians and philosophers developed their thinking either in commentaries on Priscian’s *Institutiones* or in separate treatises on grammar. Thirteenth-century ‘intentionalist’ grammarians adopted the terminology of modes of signifying, consignifying, and so forth, but they did not assume the *modistae*’s realist ontology and formal criteria.²¹ They differed from the *modistae* in that they gave more weight to the context of utterance and the respective roles and assumptions of speaker and listener when evaluating the acceptability and grammaticality of particular utterances. Robert Kilwardby, Roger Bacon, the grammarian known as Magister Johannes (OF, thirteenth century), and the grammarian known as Pseudo-Kilwardby (thirteenth century)²² responded to Priscian and Peter Helias by asking the following questions: Do interjections signify the way other kinds of utterance and word classes do? What role does *affectus* play in different kinds of utterances? Magister Johannes in his *Sicut dicit Remigius*, a treatise on complete and incomplete syntax, analysed the interjection morphosyntactically and pragmatically in terms of *affectus*, that is, according to a word’s or a phrase’s grammatical form and function and its communicative meaning and function. Ps-Kilwardby, commenting on *Priscian Maior* (*Institutiones*, Books 1–16), developed a theory of *affectus* and mental language as conceptual as part of grammatical acceptability.

For these grammarians, the traditional word class *interiectio* and the relation of *affectus* to semantics presented interesting but unresolved questions about the relations between language, meaning, situation, and feeling. They argued that interjections both primary (natural, for example: grunt, sigh, moan) and secondary (conventional, for example: *heu*, *ei*, *evax*, *papae*, *o*) signify interior states of mind or dispositions of the

speaker and consignify affects of hurried motion, urgency, crisis, fear, sadness, or other strong feelings. Grunts and instinctive cries of pain or pleasure are not language as such but natural signs, vocalized bodily expressions which imply meaning through situation, affect, and contextual knowledge shared with a listener. Conventional Latin interjections such as *heu* function as utterances signifying as mediations of experience or feeling ‘per modum affectum,’ whereas other parts of speech signify ‘per mentis conceptum.’²³ According to Ps-Kilwardby, to signify under the *modus conceptus* is to signify something under the mode of truth, whereas to signify under the *modus affectus* is to signify something ‘under the mode of the Good or its opposite, which moves the soul to action.’²⁴ According to the Priscian commentary attributed to Jordanus of Saxony, *affectus* and *conceptus* are not the same power (‘virtus’) of the soul.²⁵ *Heu* expresses my sorrow affectively *per modum affectum*, if still conventionally as a recognizable Latin word, whereas *doleo* (I suffer/lament) predicates the way I feel *per mentis conceptum*. The interjection performs my feeling (*actus exercitus*) as an embodied expressive act, whereas the predication refers to my feeling (*actus significatus*) through separate linguistic signification.²⁶ Gosvin of Marbais illustrates the difference in terms of enumeration. The number words *unus*, *duo*, *tres* refer to quantities, whereas the expression ‘*unus*, *duo*, *tres*’ signifies the act of enumerating.²⁷ The *modus affectus* makes emotional or affective experience (*affectus*, *passio*) manifest as behaviour and feeling to the intellect through language, whether that is mental language, public utterance, or *sotto voce*. Both primary and secondary interjections are instances of ‘interjective’ utterance, produced ‘*subito*’ (suddenly) in extreme or tense situations ‘*secundum rem*’ (according to reality) but without intention or deliberation. Bacon therefore referred to both kinds of utterance as ‘natural’ (‘*instinctu naturali et impetu naturae*’) from the speaker’s point of view, but ‘conventional’ (‘*ex institutione*,’ ‘*ad placitum*’), because understandable, from the listener’s point of view.²⁸ Urgency and other contextual aspects of interjective meaning are consignifications. *Affectus*, then, names the character of strong emotional speech, expressive and meaningful in context to someone. Affective speech is described in both expressive and interpreted terms, that is, as pragmatic.

For these grammarians, *affectus* was relevant to understanding not only interjections but more generally so-called ‘deviant,’ elliptical, or otherwise irregular speech. Bacon and Magister Johannes, for example, argued that because interjections are produced under the *modus affectus* without conscious intention or deliberation, they are ‘natural,’ not conventional, expressions. However, in Bacon’s account, ‘natural’ interjections are exemplary, but not the only cases of urgent, sudden, emotionally charged, or affective speech. Crisis, urgency, sudden or unexpected joy, sorrow, fear, pain—all these feelings and emotional experiences motivate or give rise to interjections, elliptical syntax (lacking

subject or predicate), and figurative language. Conveying *affectus* often involves the speaker's creative manipulation, imposition, of existing language. Challenging scholasticism's linguistic realism and criteria for *congruitas* (grammatical correctness), Magister Johannes claimed that other kinds of utterance, especially elliptical or incomplete sentences, can have 'interjective force.' He and others followed Priscian, who argued that interjective utterances need not have a complete construction, subject NP + VP, to be meaningful and understood.²⁹ As Magister Johannes argues, when someone yells: 'Aqua! Aqua!' ('Water! Water!' in the case of John the carpenter in *The Miller's Tale*, where Chaucer clearly alludes to this debate about meaningful utterances), the utterance may be formally incomplete (*incongruitas*) because it lacks a verb, but in front of a burning building (or anticipating the Second Flood), the cry is immediately understood by listeners who respond by bringing water to fight the fire.³⁰ Such real-world pragmatic instances illustrate how everyday usage can be communicative in particular contexts without fulfilling all the formal criteria for grammaticality or direct referential signification. As a 'natural' utterance, the Latin interjection *Papae!* (Wonderful!, Strange!) signifies a real and meaningful movement (*motus*) of the soul. We can rephrase the utterance as a complete clause (for example, 'Papae, quid video?' or 'Papae! Iugularas hominem' from Terence),³¹ but the interjection used alone conveys a more concrete, emotional, or affective load. (Many of Magister Johannes' examples of interjections and other affective discourse come from Terence's Latin comedies, perhaps because grammarians and teachers believed Terence's dialogues best provided ready-to-hand colloquial Latin conversation and everyday exchanges.) According to Magister Johannes, emotional utterances such as the interjections *Heu* or *Papae* or the simplex *Bene!* (equivalent to 'Good, keep going') are 'perfectio ad intellectum,' if not 'perfectio ad sensum.' The *modus intelligendi* (mode of understanding) is more important than the *modus significandi* (mode of signifying) because, following Aristotle, the goal is more important than the means and functions needed to achieve the goal.³² Kilwardby made a similar point with respect to figurative language in his commentary on Donatus's *Ars maior III (Barbarismus)*.³³ For the intentionalists, affective utterances are more like natural bodily eruptions (*erupta*), but nonetheless part of a language's grammatical system of lexical impositions, conventional and natural signs uttered and performed *sub modum affectus*.

After about 1350, *affectus* no longer functioned much as a theoretical concept in grammar. The debates between the realist *modistae* and the nominalists effectively marginalized the intentionalist approach to grammar. Then humanist grammarians, ignoring the scholastic grammatical inquiry of Bacon and others and focused on Latin eloquence and correctness, tended to repeat Latin grammarians' definitions of word classes and restricted *affectus* to the description of the interjection

as an irregular or deviant kind of utterance. Recalling Helias, Phillip Melanchthon (1497–1560), for example, stated in his Latin grammar ‘Interiectio propemodum non est dictio, sed tantum sonus inconditus, animi adfectum significans’ (The interjection is not a proper kind of word but only a disordered sound signifying the affect of the soul).³⁴ Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) in his *De causis* (1540) excluded *affectus* from the grammar of Latin altogether. William Lily’s (1468?–1522) influential Latin grammar written for the new curriculum at St Paul’s grammar school simply repeated earlier pro forma descriptions of *affectus* and the interjection, which ‘animi affectus demonstrat’ (shows movements of the mind); elsewhere Lily defines *motus* affectively as ‘animi perturbationes’ (disruptions of the mind).³⁵ However, Franciscus Sanctius (1523–1600) adopted a more semiotic approach to grammar and considered emotions such as joy and sorrow to be primary experiences for all natural creatures, birds, quadrupeds, and humans, and able to be expressed through various kinds of gestures and vocalizations. In Sanctius’s semiotic analysis, *affectus* is identified not with language per se but with creaturely feelings which can be expressed or communicated through various signs, not only language.³⁶

In medieval grammatical discourse, *affectus* was deployed as a descriptive feature in word class analysis to account for irregular kinds of expression, including figurative language. However, *affectus* was also used as a theoretical concept to address the performative aspects of linguistic behaviours and expand the scope of grammar and signification to include more than word-thing reference. In the thirteenth century, *affectus*, as a theoretical concept in grammar, had its heyday with language thinkers such as Bacon, Ps-Kilwardby, and Magister Johannes, whose semiotic- and pragmatics-oriented approaches understood referential and performative language within the wider context of human experience. Humanist grammarians did not continue that orientation, but writers such as Chaucer, Langland, and Margery Kempe did.

Notes

- 1 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. James Edward King (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 5.47; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Perseus Project, www.perseus.tufts.edu, 7.147.
- 2 Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Perseus Project, www.perseus.tufts.edu, s.v. *adfectus*.
- 3 *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/publications/online, s.v. *affectus*.
- 4 Donatus, *Ars minor*, in *Donat et la tradition de l’enseignement grammatical: Etude sur l’‘Ars Donati’ et sa diffusion (IV^e–IX^e siècle) et édition critique*, ed. Louis Holtz (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), 602.2.
- 5 Donatus, *Ars maior*, in *Donat et la tradition de l’enseignement grammatical*, 652.5–6.

- 6 Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*, in *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Heinrich Keil, 8 vols (1857–80; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), 1: 419.2. See also Probus, *Instituta artium*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 4: 146.12; Servius, *Commentum in Donati artem minorem*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 4: 406.8; and Pompeius, *Commentum in arte Donati*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 5: 281.5–6.
- 7 Charisius, *Ars grammatica*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 1: 238.19–20.
- 8 Pompeius, *Commentum in arte Donati*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 5: 26.16.
- 9 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive origenes*, ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 1.14.
- 10 Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 1: 419.12–13.
- 11 Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 3: 90.10–12.
- 12 Ibid., 3: 90.13–14.
- 13 Ibid., 2: 20.4; 3: 91.3–4.
- 14 Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, Louis Holtz, and Adele Kibre, CCCM 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 233.4–6.
- 15 Remigius of Auxerre, *In Artem maiorem Donati commentarium*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 8: 266.9–10.
- 16 Ibid., 8: 265.22–23.
- 17 Ibid., 8: 266.17–19.
- 18 Peter Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. Leo Reilly, 2 vols (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), 807–808.
- 19 Augustine, *Regulae*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 5.524.9–10.
- 20 Mary Sirridge, ‘Jordanus, *Notulae super Priscianum minorem Magistri Jordani*,’ *Cahiers de l’Institut de Moyen Âge grec et latin* 36 (1980): 22. Sirridge refutes Martin Grabmann’s attribution of the commentary to Jordanus.
- 21 See Irène Rosier, *La parole comme acte: Sur la grammaire et la sémantique au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1994), 11–12.
- 22 On the authorship of the *Commentum super Priscianum Maiorem* attributed to Kilwardby, see Rosier, *La parole comme acte*, 126–131; and Karen M. Fredborg, J. Green-Pedersen, Lauge Nielsen, Jan Pinborg, ‘The Commentary on ‘Priscianus Maior’ Ascribed to Robert Kilwardby,’ *Cahiers de l’Institut de Moyen Âge grec et latin* 15 (1975): 12–17.
- 23 Ibid., 60–65.
- 24 Pseudo-Kilwardby, *Commentum super Priscianum Maiorem*, translated (French) from Cambridge University Library, Peterhouse 191, fol. 107^v, in Rosier, *La parole comme acte*, 198.
- 25 Sirridge, ‘*Notulae super Priscianum Minorem Magistri Jordani*,’ 22.
- 26 See Gabriel Nuchelmans, ‘The Distinction *actus exercitus/lactus significatus* in Medieval Semantics,’ in *Meaning and Inference in Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1988), 57–90.
- 27 Gosvin of Marbais, *Tractatus de constructione*, ed. Irène Rosier-Catach (Nijmegen: Ingenium, 1998), 83.
- 28 Roger Bacon, *On signs*, trans. Thomas S. Maloney (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013), 40–42, 120–121.
- 29 Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*, in *Grammatici Latini*, 3: 90.7–9.
- 30 *Sicut dicit Remigius*, translated (French) from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16618, fol. 47^r, in Rosier, *La parole comme acte*, 255.
- 31 Terence, *Eunuchus*, Perseus Project, www.perseus.tufts.edu, l. 416.
- 32 See, for example, Aristotle, *Physics*, 2; 194a29–33 in Aristotle, *Physics Books 1–4*, trans. Philip H. Wicksteed and Francis M. Cornford (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1929).
- 33 Robert Kilwardby, *In Donati Artem maiorem III*, ed. Laurence Schmücker (Brixen/Bressanone: A. Weger, 1984), 97.

- 34 Phillip Melanchthon, *Grammatica Latina* (Leipzig: Officina Valentini Papae, 1555), 310.
- 35 William Lily, *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar generallie to be used* (London: R. Wolfe, 1567), accessed via Early English Books Online, 70–71.
- 36 Franciscus Sanctius, *Minerva seu de causis linguae Latinae* (Salamanca: Joannem et Andraeam Renaut, 1587), fol. 11^r.

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3 *Affectio-affectus* in Latin Rhetoric up to c. 1200

Rita Copeland

In classical Latin rhetoric, the related terms *affectio* and *affectus* have a wide presence.¹ Of course, any rhetorical use of those terms is inflected by their broader semantic values in Latin antiquity. But restricting our survey to the narrowed *optique* of rhetorical contexts produces a suggestive picture. In the rhetoric of the postclassical periods up to about 1200, these terms tend to have a value limited by one of the chief rhetorical sources that the Middle Ages took from classical antiquity, Cicero's youthful *De inventione*. While Latin antiquity produced rhetorical works of much greater scope and depth, mere accidents of history made *De inventione* the most influential rhetorical text to survive from Late Antiquity through the High Middle Ages. This work offers a definition of *affectio* as *commutatio animi*, a disturbance of the mind (or soul). Here, Cicero accords *affectio* some theoretical value as one among various resources for inventing or 'discovering' an argument about a person. For almost the next 1,000 years, rhetorical attention to this principle usually reflects the constraints that Cicero's Stoic thought placed on it. In the short compass of this chapter I will consider the use of *affectio* in *De inventione*, with briefer attention to Cicero's mature rhetoric and the work of Quintilian, and then turn to the rhetorics of Late Antiquity to see how *affectio-affectus* established themselves in that body of work. I end the chapter by considering how the terms figure in Ciceronian commentary and pragmatic rhetorics from the late eleventh to the late twelfth centuries, the period that sees the most significant new assimilations of Cicero's rhetorical thought.²

In *De inventione*, written perhaps about 87 BCE when he was quite young, Cicero gives surprisingly brief attention to *affectio*—surprising given the influence his terse comments were to have. This mention is in the context of his treatment of the attributes of the person and of the act as topics of invention in the part of the oration known as *confirmatio* or proof. These 'attributes' constitute all the things that one can say about a person involved in the legal case being argued and all the things one can say about the (alleged criminal) action that is under consideration. The attributes of the person which will serve as 'topics' for argument are: name, nature, way of life (*victus*), fortune, *habitus*,

affectio, *studium*, deliberation (*consilium*), achievement (*facta*), ‘accidents’ (*casus*, that is, what happened to him), and speech (*orationes*) (*De inventione* 1.24.34–1.25.37). The section that interests us, on *affectio*, needs to be understood in the context of the two terms that surround it, *habitus* and *studium*. *Affectio* is defined here less for its own sake than for the contrast that it affords with *habitus* on the one hand, and *studium* on the other:

Habitus is what we call a constant or absolute perfection of mind or body in relation to a particular thing, such as the possession of a power or an art ... not given by nature but acquired by effort and industry.

Affectio is a temporary disturbance (*ex tempore ... commutatio*), for some reason, of mind or body, for example joy, desire, fear, distress, illness, weakness, and other things found in the same category.

Studium [zeal, effort] is assiduous mental effort fervently applied to some object with the keenest pleasure, such as the study of philosophy poetry, geometry, or letters.³

[1.25.36]

Immediately obvious is the contrast between the absolute constancy of *habitus* (*Habitus ... appellamus animi aut corporis constantem et absolutam*) and the temporariness of *affectio* as an alteration or upheaval (*commutatio*) in disposition. *Affectio* can be a passing emotion such as joy, desire, or fear; it can also be a temporary bodily condition such as illness or weakness (*debilitas*). It can perhaps be a combination of mind and body, registered by ‘distress’ (*molestia*). *Affectio* is also contrasted with *studium*, defined as an intentional striving towards permanence as opposed to something that ‘affects’ us or comes upon us passingly. Thus, *affectio* is important as a means of distinguishing between the constant and the temporary, or the intentional and the accidental. As a topic (‘place’) of invention, *affectio* has theoretical value within the system of rhetoric, but it is proposed as a means of understanding other things—constancy, intention—rather than as something to be explored for its own sake.

In later chapters of *De inventione*, *affectio animi* is a general category for emotions under *imprudentia* or lack of intention and its subheadings ignorance, accident, and necessity (1.27.41). Here, *affectio animi* is directly equated with such emotions as *molestia*, *iracundia*, and *amor*. The general term *imprudentia* relates to the state of mind in which an action was performed. Thus, as a category of legal argument, *affectio* is marked as transitory.

This is all consistent with Cicero’s Stoic thought. The term *affectio* appears often in his other writings, and can apply to body as well as to

mind, indicating some kind of aberration or defect. *Affectus* appears less frequently.⁴ I have singled out *De inventione* for attention because of its unusual importance for rhetorical thought. Within the system of the attributes of the person, *affectio* occupies a stable position as a topic of invention, something always available to think with, even though what it denotes is instability, transience, disturbance.

Before moving to the rhetorical thought that Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages derived from the *De inventione*, it is worth considering briefly the thinking on emotion that the Middle Ages was *not* to inherit directly from classical Latin rhetoric. While Cicero's mature *De oratore* was not unknown to the Latin Middle Ages, it was by no means well known until the fifteenth century.⁵ In Book 2 of *De oratore*, Cicero lays out one of the most important principles of his later rhetorical thought: that the speaker must be moved by the very emotions he is seeking to elicit in his audience (2.45.189). Here, his vocabulary does not include *affectio* or *affectus*, but rather *permotio animi* (2.44.185), *impetus* (2.45.188), *motus*, *commoveo*, *permoveo* (2.45.189–2.45.90), as well as words for individual emotions such as sadness, grief, and anger.⁶ In this famous passage, Cicero is interested in the moving of emotion on its own terms, rather than in the essentially philosophical problem of defining what is transitory against what is permanent. Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, also a major classical text poorly known before the fifteenth century, uses the term *affectus*, here in its value as an equivalent of the Greek *pathos*, as Quintilian attempts to ground emotional strategies in a theoretical history. He begins by declaring that 'spiritus operis huius atque animus est in adfectibus' (6.2.7), that is, the very spirit and life of this enterprise (that is, oratory) is in the emotions. He goes on to describe two kinds of emotions: 'one the Greeks call *pathos*, which we, translating correctly and properly, call *affectus*'; the other he relates to the Greek *ethos* (ἦθος), which the Latins sometimes call *mores* or character (6.2.8–6.2.9).⁷ The difference, according to Quintilian (reporting unspecified older authorities) is that *affectus* is considered vehement emotion, while *ethos* is quiet; *affectus/pathos* is temporary, while *ethos* is abiding. Thus, *amor* (love) is *affectus*, while *caritas* (love) is *ethos* (6.2.10–6.2.12). This seems to echo but also extend the short treatment in *De inventione*. It is fascinating to imagine how medieval rhetorical thought on *affectus/affectio* would have developed had the Middle Ages known and absorbed Quintilian's discussion in Book 6 of *Institutio oratoria*. But the parts of Quintilian that passed through medieval hands until the complete work was rediscovered by Poggio in the early fifteenth century generally lacked Books 6 and 7 as well as parts of Books 8, 9, and 10.⁸

Despite some knowledge of the mature Cicero and Quintilian among the rhetoricians of the late imperial period, it was the *De inventione* that dominated the schools of rhetoric in Late Antiquity. Not all the

late antique compendia of rhetoric that rely on *De inventione* address Cicero's account of *affectio*. But one text that did also prove one of the most influential accounts of rhetorical doctrine for the Middle Ages. This was the *Explanations in Ciceronis Rhetoricam* by the fourth-century Neoplatonist Marius Victorinus. In his line-by-line commentary on *De inventione*, Victorinus elaborates Cicero's laconic account of *affectio* at 1.25.36 by underscoring the suddenness and ephemerality of emotion:

AFFECTIO IS A TEMPORARY UPHEAVAL, FOR SOME REASON, OF MIND OR BODY. We say that *habitus* is the perfection of anything in mind or body. But by contrast, *affectio* is a starting up (*inchoatio*) of anything in mind or in body which arises suddenly (*subito ... nascitur*) for some reason and is soon to pass away (*mox recessura*). For example, if someone brings us good news and we become happy, or if we see something and we desire it, or we become fearful of something—say being attacked—all these are affections (*adfectiones*).⁹

Here the centre of gravity is not how *affectio* performs as a topic of invention (an attribute of the person), but rather the definition of abiding perfection itself. The account in Cicero's *De inventione*, with its Stoic overtones, lends itself to Victorinus's explicit moral-philosophical reading in which *habitus* (defined in Cicero as *perfectio constans et absoluta*) is now a kind of innate moral power that can be known by its opposite, *affectio*. Victorinus earlier defines *habitus* in terms of the four cardinal virtues—justice, temperance, fortitude, and prudence—as a kind of 'habit of mind.' *Habitus* and *affectio*, originally attributes of the person that enable the formation of any argument, have here become measurements of human virtue in relation to a transcendent and eternal power. Victorinus's stress on the temporariness of *affectio* may recall Quintilian's distinction between emotion (temporary upheaval) and *mores* (abiding character), but where Quintilian would be interested in exploring the speaker's strategies for eliciting particular fleeting emotions, Victorinus's concern lies with a general philosophical principle.

The philosophical thrust of Victorinus's commentary, influential in itself, was reinforced by a short anonymous treatise of uncertain date that generally accompanied it in manuscripts from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries as a kind of addendum: *De attributis personae et negotio* (Concerning the attributes of the person and the act). This very brief treatise assumes the background of Ciceronian inventional theory, but in terms of total coverage of all the attributes, it devotes disproportionate attention to the terms *habitus*, *affectio*, and *studium*. It is, in fact, a commentary on a commentary, seeming to take its cue from Victorinus's

exposition to zero in on the attribute of *habitus* as a perfected state of virtue.

In fact one develops these qualities with diligence and makes them perfected, and this is called *habitus*; or we often fall into these qualities by some chance or sudden provocation [*aut in his casu quodam ac repentino motu frequenter incidimus*] and this is called *adfectio*; or we incline to these qualities by a certain effort, because this very *studium* as such is nothing other than the will applied to certain qualities. Thus we are influenced [*adficimur*] by qualities in three ways: by origin and birth, which is nature; we are influenced by sudden accidents [*adficimur repentinis casibus*], and this is *adfectio*; or we are influenced [*adficimur*] by constant industry and perseverance, and this is *habitus* *Adfectio* is a quality occurring suddenly and forcefully that quickly dissipates; for if it remained it would be *habitus*. It is called *adfectio* because by nature it makes an impression [*quod adficiat qualitate*].¹⁰

The temporal quality of *adfectio* as a fleeting impression on the soul has become so dominant in the philosophical tradition that the term is not even defined here in terms of emotion.

This was, of course, not the only direction that the notion of *adfectio* was to take in the rhetorics of Late Antiquity. Indeed, a number of rhetorical theorists or compendiaists less bound by the constraints of the *De inventione* were inclined to lay stress on the vehemence of *adfectio* rather than on its attribute of temporariness. In this they recall the other theme of Quintilian's account of emotion in rhetoric: that as *pathos* or *affectus* it is characterized by intensity. We find this notably in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* (the only authentic work of Augustine dedicated to rhetoric). Here, in Book 4, where Augustine lays out principles of style and delivery, he uses the term *affectus* to designate the intense emotions or feelings (without specifying which emotions) that a powerful style can generate. For example, speaking of Paul's letter to the Galatians, he notes that despite its restrained style, it elicits the strongest emotions: 'et tamen non ideo tepuit grandis affectus, quo eloquium fervere sentimus' (nevertheless the strong emotion, by which we feel eloquence afire, has not cooled [4.20.44]).¹¹ Here, the ethical value of *affectus* lies in its intensity, and the implication is that Scripture elicits one powerful response after another. It is the experience of repeated and varied emotional responses, rather than having a single abiding emotion, that compels spiritual belief.¹²

Two technical rhetorics of Late Antiquity also develop the thematic strand of vehement emotion: these are Martianus Capella's chapter on rhetoric in *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* and Julius Severianus's *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*. These two works elaborate a principle of

emotional arousal that Cicero outlines at *De inventione* 1.53.100–1.56.109, the rules for the peroration. According to Cicero, the peroration should seek to elicit pity or indignation in the judges, so that the speech ends on an emotional highpoint and nails the speaker's case. Cicero provides lists of topics from which pity or indignation can be drawn: these special topics can be added to the attributes of the person and the act which he had discussed earlier in Book 1. Here Cicero does not use the term *affectio* because he is interested in specific emotions (pity, indignation) that the speech will elicit rather than in a general principle of what emotion is.

But Martianus Capella and Julius Severianus deploy the term *affectus*, although their treatments are pragmatic, not at all philosophical. Martianus devotes only a few paragraphs to emotional discourse (§§503–505). He regards arousing emotion as proper to the peroration (§503), and he gives a general treatment of the question 'quibus mentes affectibus incitentur' (§504). Clearly he does not limit the emotions at stake to pity and indignation, as he illustrates pity, hatred, envy, fear, hope, and anger, and adds that 'other similar emotions [*affectus*] are mixed in' (§505).¹³ He then advances an interesting claim: that the arousal of such emotions is extrinsic to the case being argued (§505). This may be an echo of Aristotle's famous pronouncement at the start of his *Rhetoric* that the writers of handbooks on the art of rhetoric have paid too much attention to accessory matters like arousing prejudice, compassion, anger, and the like, rather than to the core question of how arguments should be formed through enthymemes (1354a10–20). To see Martianus's point in Ciceronian terms, we might say that when emotion is a topic by which we develop an argument about the defendant or plaintiff, it is a concern central and intrinsic to rhetoric's purpose, but when we are concerned with the emotion generated in audiences of the speech, it is no longer intrinsic to rhetoric's purpose.

Where Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis* was widely known in the Middle Ages, Julius Severianus's compendium on the art of rhetoric had a more limited circulation, although it was known to such twelfth-century authors as Thierry of Chartres, who incorporated it in his *Heptateuchon*. One section of Severianus's *Pracepta artis rhetoricae* was traditionally marked off with the title *De adfectibus*: it is comparable with Martianus's treatment of emotion as it outlines topics and other strategies for generating audience emotion, both within the peroration and in the body of the oration. Emotion can be drawn from many topics, not only from the special topics of the peroration, but from the attributes of the person and the act. Severianus's general comment on this process is revealing: 'once you have proved the crime, all of the circumstances [that is, topics] that provided arguments for convicting the defendant also serve to stir the emotions [*adfectus*

commoventur].'¹⁴ For Severianus, arousing emotion is not segregated from arguing with emotion: any argument based on *affectus* as an attribute of the defendant or plaintiff can also arouse emotion in the audience. Here, Cicero's strictly philosophical principle, where *affectio* is a way of measuring what is not abiding *habitus* or intentional *studium*, is not left behind, but it merges with a practical orientation, to evoke emotion in the audience. Under that latter circumstance, *affectus* needs no further definition, as it is already understood as vehement feeling.

It is curious, however, that many of the refinements and distinctions found among the late antique rhetoricians did not impress themselves on the schoolmen of the eleventh and twelfth centuries who turned anew to Cicero's rhetoric and set about an intensive course of copying and commentary on the *De inventione*. Perhaps this was because there were no significant further commentaries on the text between the sixth and the eleventh centuries, although it was known, and the new compendia of rhetoric produced during those centuries (notably Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, Alcuin's dialogue on rhetoric) did not follow the Ciceronian text closely. Beginning in the later eleventh century, new generations of commentators were to return to the *De inventione* as if with fresh eyes, reading it deeply through the philosophical lens of Victorinus's exposition.

Of these, the earliest is a commentary by a Menegaldus (or Manegald), whose identity with the canon Manegald of Lautenbach (c. 1030–c. 1112) has been much debated.¹⁵ The name of this master and exegete emerges in the late eleventh century in learned circles of northern France. However one identifies the author, the commentary on *De inventione* ascribed to this Menegaldus is extremely rich in detail and thought. The comments at *De inventione* 1.25.36 are interesting enough to merit quoting and paraphrasing at some length. Menegaldus develops the notion of *habitus* in a direction predicted by Victorinus's commentary, but with greater emphasis on Cicero's term *perfectio* or completeness:

habitus est perfectio 'in aliqua re' Et quamvis nulla res sit in humanis perfecta, tamen quia solemus alias perfectas, alias perfectiores, alias perfectissimas appellare, ut ostendat se de perfectissimis secundum usum agere, apponit 'absolutam,' id est ita dico perfectam, ut sit absoluta, id est ut nihil ei desit.¹⁶

Habitus is perfection 'in a particular thing' And although no human thing is perfect, nevertheless, since we are accustomed to calling some things perfect, others more perfect, and others most perfect—so that one should show that one governs oneself in relation to what is most perfect—he applies the term 'absolute,' what I call perfection, for it is absolute, that is, it lacks nothing.

Here, the association of *habitus* with permanence is subsumed under what Menegaldus takes to be a higher category, perfection, and it is that higher principle that takes priority in his exposition of the passage. This theme can be said to orient his explanation of *affectio*:

AFFECTIO EST ANIMI AUT CORPORIS (etc.). As if he should say, this quality is called *affectio*, which is a disturbance [*commutatio*], that is what can be altered, either in mind or body. I say ‘disturbance for some reason,’ that is, it arises from a simple [*facilis*] cause, and this is temporary, that is, of brief duration. And it is called *affectio* because we ‘effect’ ourselves [*facimus nos*], that is, incline [*applicamus*] to having to have it [*ad eam habendam*], whether by intention or not [*modo sponte, modo non sponte*]. Thus he offers examples: ‘for example, joy, desire’ etc.... Let us exemplify an argument *ab affectione* in this way: ‘the boy was quickly able to trap the girl; once seized, she was in love with him’.¹⁷

There is some attempt here to explain *affectio* almost in terms of an etymology: *affectio* as if from both *applicare* and *facio*. This recalls the anonymous *De attributis personae et negotio*, which had etymologized *affectio* from *adficio*, ‘making an impression.’ Given that the *De attributis* often accompanied Victorinus in manuscripts, it is not unlikely that Menegaldus had this idea to hand. *Affectio* here is almost random: it comes from any ready cause and it is not necessarily intentional. While we have seen similar themes (temporariness, arbitrariness, non-intentionality), Menegaldus incorporates his definitions in a framing discussion of the nature of perfection. Menegaldus’s example of an argument *ab affectione*, with its Ovidian scene of adolescent sexual violence and emotional vulnerability (the girl quickly turns from victim to willing lover), drives home the philosophical point of imperfection by staging a scene of immature passion, *affectio* as tempestuous and callow.

We do not see this racy but effective example again in the commentators who followed Menegaldus, even though they seem to have used his exposition. William of Champeaux, who commented on *De inventione* c. 1100 (not long after Menegaldus’s commentary was written), stays close to Victorinus in his explanations of *habitus* and *affectio*, although on *habitus* he does add the sexually suggestive example: ‘uere non faceret adulterium quia castitas uersa est sibi in habitum’ (she/he would not commit adultery because chastity was habitually with her/him).¹⁸ On *affectio*, William stresses temporariness rather than Menegaldus’s theme of shallowness, although some of his language bears the influence of Menegaldus (for example, *facile*). For Thierry of Chartres as well, producing his commentary most likely during the 1130s, Victorinus’s fundamental Neoplatonic distinction between the abiding and the temporary, the constant and the changeable, is sufficient: ‘Nam per hoc

quod dixit affectionem esse *ex tempore*, intellexit eam ad tempus non diuturnam' (Now, given that he said that *affectio* is *ex tempore*, he understood it as not lasting long with respect to time).¹⁹

The fact that the term *affectio* (or its cousin *affectus*) does not gather up more force and meaning in the Ciceronian renaissance of twelfth-century rhetoric is in itself fascinating. Why did it not accumulate more nuance? We might hypothesize that the commentators were not active in fields of practical or applied rhetoric but operated in elite spheres of philosophical study in the milieu of the northern cathedral schools, where the *De inventione* was studied as a classical witness to the *artes sermocinales* which were undergoing an intensive programme of revival and expansion. Within such a milieu, the Neoplatonist reading of Victorinus was no constraint, but rather a reliable guide. This seems a good hypothesis until we look just beyond the cathedral schools, to see how pragmatic rhetoricians might incorporate Cicero's paradigms into their teaching.

In the *Ars versificatoria* (c. 1175?), the earliest of the fully developed *artes poetriae*, Matthew of Vendôme attempts to present a comprehensive rhetorical approach, synthesizing the teaching of argument from *De inventione* with the teaching on arrangement and style found in other classical sources, especially Horace and (to a lesser extent) *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In order to teach description, Matthew gives an account (*Ars versificatoria* 1.77–1.109) of topics that closely follows Cicero's treatment of the attributes of the person and the act in *De inventione*; Matthew supplements the definitions with poetic examples. Coming to the term *affectio* (1.87), Matthew paraphrases Cicero's terse definition: 'Affectio est repentina et transitoria animi vel corporis permutatio' (*affectio* is a sudden and passing alteration of mind or body). Then follow exemplary descriptions of bodily change and of high excitement culled from Ovid, Statius, and Lucan, along with some of Matthew's own custom-made examples. In his own examples, he emphasizes the corporeal effects of emotion: pallor arising from fear, a blush suggesting shame. He adds a further explanation relevant to the art of description: 'Leticia enim et timor et pallor et habitus superficialis pertinent ad affectionem' (Joy and fear, as well as pallor and exterior *habitus* pertain to *affectio*).²⁰ Despite the practical orientation of teaching how to create a description, Matthew has not moved far beyond the established Ciceronian definition of *affectio* as a transitory change. The supplementary explanations locating the effects of emotion in bodily appearance refine the approach to description (for example, pallor will be a good indicator of fear), but they do not deepen the basic definition. It is worth noting that the word that Matthew is more likely to use when he leaves the precincts of Ciceronian paraphrase is *affectus* (e.g. 1.60; 3.8), although here the latter term denotes an even more generalized field of 'feeling' or disposition.

Beyond Matthew's attempt to recruit Ciceronian theory for the twelfth-century classroom, the terms *affectio/affectus* in a rhetorical sense make at best limited appearances in the practical compositional arts. Geoffrey of Vinsauf does not have a technical use for the words in the *Poetria nova* (c. 1208); Gervase of Melkley's *Ars poetica* (c. 1215) once mentions argument *ab affectione*.²¹ John of Garland's *Parisiana poetria* (c. 1229) uses *affectus* once to explain the impact of an interjection (to express *affectūs* of sorrow, joy, fear, or wonder), and once in a summary of the Ciceronian doctrine of the attributes of the person: 'Affectus, ut, "est amans (avarus)"' (*Affectus*, as in 'he is affectionate/he is mean'), where it is general enough to signify a moral as well as emotional disposition.²² Yet the arts of poetry and prose composition are keen to illustrate strategies for summoning up emotion, and often delight in passionate exemplifications. Apparently, the more committed medieval rhetoric becomes to the purpose of eliciting emotion, the less interested are the new textbooks in defining emotion. They seem to have left this task to their earlier philosophical colleagues, who seemed content to work within the parameters of Cicero's Stoic doctrine and approach the notion of *affectio* in instrumental terms, as a means of distinguishing abiding habits from passing upheavals.

Notes

- 1 On the relationship (similarity and sometimes difference) between these two terms in classical Latin usage, see Duncan Cloud, 'The Stoic πάθη, "affectus" and the Roman Jurists,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 123 (2006): 19–48 (see especially 19–20 and notes). Cicero (with whose rhetorical influence this article is largely concerned) uses *affectio* routinely in both rhetorical and non-rhetorical contexts; he uses *affectus* only once (in *Tusculan Disputations* 5.47). Both terms can refer to states of mind or body produced by external influences. If *affectus* sometimes seems to designate particular emotions such as love, good-will, compassion (Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1879], v. *affectus* II. A.), this can also apply to *affectio*; as we will see, Cicero places specific emotions under the term *affectio*. Where there is meaningful differentiation between the terms, *affectus* seems to be used to correspond with the Greek *pathos* (Lewis and Short, cited earlier), while *affectio* can have a more general value as a 'disturbance' of mind or body (Lewis and Short, v. *affectio* II. A.).
- 2 For more detailed discussions of some of the texts surveyed here, see Rita Copeland, 'Affectio in the Tradition of the *De inventione*: Philosophy and Pragmatism,' in *Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo*, ed. Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 3–20.
- 3 Text in Cicero, *De inventione*, ed. Eduardus Stroebel (Leipzig: Teuber, 1915). All translations throughout are my own.
- 4 In addition to Cloud, 'The Stoic πάθη' (note 1 above), see *Tusculan Disputations: Cicero on the Emotions books 3 and 4*, trans. Margaret Graver

- (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), especially xxxvii–xxxix (on translating Cicero’s vocabulary).
- 5 Leighton D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 102–109.
 - 6 Cicero, *De oratore*, ed. Kazimierz F. Kumaniecki (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969).
 - 7 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 2 vols., ed. L. Radermacher (Leipzig: Teubner, 1959).
 - 8 The complexities of transmission as well as the use of *Institutio oratoria* in Late Antiquity are surveyed in Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 332–334, and in Michael Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1970).
 - 9 C. Marius Victorinus, *Commenta in Ciceronis rhetorica. Accedit incerti auctoris tractatus de attributis personae et negotio*, ed. Thomas Riesenweber (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 92.
 - 10 *De attributis personae et negotio*, ed. Riesenweber, 213–214: ‘Verum has qualitates uel diligentia comparat facitque perfectas, et *habitus* nominatur; aut in has casu quodam ac repentino motu frequenter incidimus, et *adfectio* dicitur; aut in has inclinamur *studio* quodam, quod ipsum studium per se nihil aliud est quam uoluntas adplicata in aliquas qualitates. Ergo adficimur qualitatibus tribus modis: ortu et natali, et est natura; adficimur repentinis casibus, et *adfectio* est; adficimur industria ac constantia et perseueratione, et *habitus* est.... *Adfectio* est accidens qualitas uel repente uel {studio} mox desitura (nam si permaneat, fit *habitus*), dicta *adfectio*, quod adficiat qualitate.’
 - 11 Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 256.
 - 12 For further discussion of Augustine’s use of the term, see in this volume, Jonathan D. Teubner, ‘The Failure of *Affectus*: *Affectiones* and *constantiae* in Augustine of Hippo.’
 - 13 Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. James Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983).
 - 14 Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. Remo Giomini (Rome: Herder, 1992), 73–74.
 - 15 On ‘Magister Menegaldus,’ whose commentary on *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is also the earliest of this period, see John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion, and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 136, 144–146, 233. The debates on identification are summarized by Karin M. Fredborg, ‘The *De inventione* Commentary by Manegold (of Lautenbach?) and its Place in Twelfth-Century Rhetoric,’ in *Public Declamations*, ed. Donovin and Stodola, 45–47; for the arts commentaries ascribed to him, see *Menegaldi in Ciceronis rhetorica glose*, ed. Filippo Bognini (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), xvii–xix.
 - 16 Bognini, ed. *Menegaldi in Ciceronis rhetorica glose*, 77.
 - 17 Ibid., 78: AFFECTIO EST ANIMI AUT CORPORIS. Ac si dicat: illa qualitas vocatur affectio, que est ‘commutatio’ id est que potest commutari, sive in animo sive in corpore; ‘commutatio’ dico ‘de aliqua causa’, id est propter facilem causam aliquam nata, et hoc ‘ex tempore’, id est breviter durans. Et vocatur affectio quia facimus nos, id est applicamus, ad eam habendam, modo sponte, modo non sponte, et inde subdit exempla: ‘ut letitia, cupiditas’ et cetera.... Sumitur autem argumentum ab affectione sic: ‘potuit hic adolescens puellam cito decipere: nam capta erat eius amore.’
 - 18 William of Champeaux, *In primis*, eds. Juanita Feros Ruys, John Scott, and John O. Ward, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). I am grateful to Juanita Ruys for supplying me with

- their transcription of the commentary at 1.25.36 from York Minster MS XVI.M.7.
- 19 Karin M. Fredborg, ed., *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 134.
 - 20 Matthew of Vendôme [Mathei Vindocinensis], *Opera*, ed. Franco Munari, Vol. 3, *Ars versificatoria* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988), 102–103.
 - 21 Gervase of Melkley, *Gervais von Melkley: Ars poetica*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Gräbener (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), p. 4 line 17.
 - 22 *The Parisiana poetria of John of Garland*, ed. and trans. Traugott Lawlor (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 112, 134.

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4 The Old English Vocabulary of Emotions

Glossing *affectus*

Antonina Harbus

It has become clear that the terminology around emotions in relation to semantic range and translation across cultures is particularly complex and problematic, on both linguistic and cross-cultural levels. All of the usual issues with linguistic translation pertain to this problem—including varying degrees of host and target language equivalence with non-aligning semantic range, interpreting idiomatic language, indistinct lexical interchangeability, and the rhetorical and political implications of motivated practices of translation.¹ This linguistic complexity is especially acute, given our need to acknowledge the experiential variety and fluidity of the emotional life at both individual and social levels, and also to understand that the spectrum of experience is broken up quite distinctly in different languages, with various emphases, sub-categories, affective relationships, and expressive norms. The polyvalence of many terms and context-specific delimitation make it even harder to make general comments about historical affect or its linguistic expression.

Studies of vocabularies of emotions rarely pay much attention to the earliest Western vernacular, Old English (c. seventh to eleventh centuries, that is, in the period prior to rise of affective piety in Europe, as discussed elsewhere in this volume). This fragmentary and sporadically preserved corpus, however, with its wide range of text types, including original prose and poetry, texts adapted and translated from Latin originals, and especially lists of glosses and interlinear glosses,² provides a useful perspective on the earliest English understanding and translation of emotion words. Those texts for which we have existing Latin equivalents also supply a cross-linguistic view on negotiating semantic approximation through techniques such as variation, nominal compounding, and the use of ‘synonymous doublets,’ where pairs of Old English terms are matched to a single Latin term, apparently in order to accommodate ill-fitting semantic ranges, or perhaps just as an act of over-compensation by the translator in the face of choice or challenge.³ These pairs of Latin and Old English texts, via processes of glossing and annotation, provide a wealth of information on literary and reading practices, and, even more interestingly, on the logistics of interpretation at semantic and cognitive levels.

There is a huge amount of work still to be done on how Latin emotion terms are translated in Old English, and to take the discussion forward, this essay will examine the Old English terms used to gloss Latin *affectus* and the incidence and discursive context of those terms of both mainstream and mainly poetic usage (given the existence of many apparently synonymous terms, including formulae and metaphoric compounds, for certain key ideas in Old English, to meet the requirements of alliteration, one of the chief poetic principles of this corpus).⁴ This discussion will consider the semantic ranges and patterns of usage of these terms, and in turn explore how culturally specific those affect categories seem to be. Of further interest is the question of how emotion is expressed in literary, historical, and other texts, and how much overlap there is with current Western perceptions of emotions. This discussion will thereby consider the negotiation of discursive sense and linguistic constraint in the translation of language dealing with emotion from Latin to Old English, and in turn contemplate what was at stake—and how multiple competing considerations dealing with human affect were managed—at the point of glossing, explaining, or pairing Latin affect terms with Old English ones.

Scholars of Anglo-Saxon literature have shown a keen interest in the language of emotions. There are broad lexical studies, such as those by Michiko Ogura,⁵ as well as more specific analyses of individual words and emotion groups, including those under consideration here. Klaus Ostheeren, for instance, has studied the main Old English terms connoting ‘joy,’⁶ and Małgorzata Fabiszak has analysed sources or producers of joy via collocation analysis and categorization.⁷ Kanerva Heikkinen and Heli Tissari have advanced these lines of inquiry to explore the understanding and expression of happiness in Old English texts, with a particular focus on the dominant term *bliss* (merriment, happiness) in its development from ‘religious and communal to implicit and personal’ experiences of that emotion.⁸

Recently, the volume of essays *Anglo-Saxon Emotions* has advanced these discussions enormously by bringing in a range of new, productive perspectives, as well as summarizing the work done thus far, and demonstrating the intersecting lines of inquiry being undertaken in this area.⁹ In that volume, Daria Izdebska makes the case for specifically lexical-semantic studies of Anglo-Saxon emotions, exemplified via words for anger.¹⁰ As Izdebska and many others note, there are problems inherent in making simplistic mappings between abstract concepts (such as emotions) and words.¹¹ My own work in this area has made this case, and has argued for a greater emphasis on the interaction of cognition and culture in the apprehension, expression, and literary representation of emotion.¹²

Translations of texts from Latin into the vernacular, as occurred in Anglo-Saxon England, provide different kinds of evidence for ways in

which emotion words in the host and target languages were understood and cross-mapped during linguistic translation. In the Old English context, we have a great deal of data to work with: straightforward glosses of lists of Latin words and Old English ones, interlinear glosses of culturally significant texts such as the Christian Gospels, translations (in both prose and poetry) of varying degrees of literalness, and poetic uses of Latin texts, ideas, and words, where literary processes develop and re-express emotional concepts. Manuscripts produced in Anglo-Saxon England, like other parts of medieval Europe and beyond, contain annotations, marginal comments, and word and line glosses (both marginal and interlinear, mainly in Latin but also in Old English), presumably intended as an aid to reading and understanding the Latin. Apart from the Latin glosses, the extant corpus of Old English glosses (mainly from the later period) provide a wealth of information on conceptual understanding, translation practices, and literary culture. From the variety of functions that such notations could perform, interpretive translation from Latin to Old English was one of the most common, indeed can be construed to underpin the culture of vernacular education, translation, and textual production more broadly.

Among glossed texts, Latin works for which continuous interlinear glossing was provided include culturally significant religious and monastic texts: the gospels and psalter, hymns and prayers, and the Benedictine Rule. Scholars have argued that such continuous interlinear glosses were probably created for early, private study, also provided the early scaffolding of the process of translation, and even that 'Anglo-Saxon culture was indelibly marked by the very idea of translation.'¹³ While glossing undoubtedly served a teaching function, there is more at stake: glossing also enhanced the esteem and functionality of the vernacular. Both in the process of teaching Latin as a foreign language during the early period, and later, as Latin learning dwindled, there existed a need for the provision of texts in the vernacular, so many works were glossed and translated in an effort to widen intelligibility, with naturally some impact on the form and content of that text (especially as in the case of continuous interlinear glossing, Latin and not Old English syntax was followed). The status of the resulting text has been interpreted variously by scholars. Martin Irvine sees the target text as expanding the host text: 'the gloss is essentially an interpretive supplement, a set of expressions which attempts to disclose some latent or suppressed meaning in an earlier set of expressions.'¹⁴ Robert Stanton affords the glossator more agency and the gloss a greater potential to shape as well as transmit information: 'interpretive tools such as glosses and glossaries both reproduced and altered an ideology which was at once religious, literary, and aesthetic.'¹⁵ Taking this argument for what glosses disclose a step further, we can see, via close attention to the practice of glossing affect terms, the cognitive architecture of understanding emotion while negotiating linguistic

difference and enacting textual interpretation, supplementation, and even transmutation.

Using existing and ongoing resources, one is able to locate Old English word families, their usage, and their incidences.¹⁶ These data can be used to explore how these verbal traces inscribe the affective-cognitive functioning of human minds from remote cultures. It is important to note here how uniquely useful glosses and glossed texts can be, especially as they survive in both Latin and Old English from early in the period (c. late seventh century CE) right through to the end of the eleventh century CE, being most plentiful during the later period in response to the burgeoning of learning and textual activity following the Benedictine Reform. As one scholar notes, ‘the interactions between the two languages spoken and written in Anglo-Saxon England can be observed nowhere better than in the interlinear and marginal glosses to Latin texts,’¹⁷ although glosses have not been much studied for what information they can yield in cultural or cognitive arenas.

That is the area to which this study brings a transdisciplinary understanding of emotions, linguistic and literary expression, using the specific example of *affectus*. The evidence from standalone glosses, or lists of corresponding words and phrases, as well as interlinear glosses, is particularly interesting for *affectus*, whose semantic range and motivated use, together with its cognate *affectio* in the Latin tradition, has attracted some attention, though not much with regard to vernacular glossing in the early Medieval period.¹⁸ In Medieval Latin, *affectus* has generally been understood to connote ‘emotion, feeling; disposition, frame of mind; impulse, desire, intention; affection, devotion,’¹⁹ yet the very broad range of this definition points to the versatility of the term, and perhaps also to the unsuitability of mapping it onto a single modern English lexical and conceptual category, though the practice of glossing demands just that sort of definitive one-to-one correspondence.

When Anglo-Saxon writers come to gloss or translate *affectus* into Old English (a word that occurs a modest number of times—there are only 58 matches in the online searchable corpus), they make a very wide variety of choices. The term *gewilnung* (wish, desire, longing) occurs quite often, including in Aelfric’s *Grammar* as a direct instructional pairing (‘*affectus* gewilnung’ [78.14] and later in the collocation ‘*mentis affectus*...modes gewilnunge’, mind’s desire [277.15]).²⁰ *Lufu* (love) also occurs frequently, and is a pairing that occurs only in glosses. The other Old English terms glossing *affectus* are *hyldu* (kindness, affection, friendship, loyalty), *sawol* (soul), and *will* (will).²¹ The inclusion of ‘love,’ ‘affection,’ ‘soul,’ and ‘will’ in this list speaks to enactment of the glossator’s interpretive agency, or perhaps linguistic uncertainty, driving these choices. A further possibility is cultural difference around the idea of affect itself, or at least a variation in the location and

placement of conceptual emphasis within the semantic fields of terms in this domain, and patterns of usage dependent on context and authorial understanding. The *Historical Thesaurus* lists a large range of terms and concepts linked to ‘affect’ (s.v.), showing in diachronic detail how intertwined the histories and uses of the nominal and verbal senses ‘emotion,’ ‘character,’ ‘to affect with emotion,’ ‘to be affected,’ and ‘to have affection’ have been. The glosses to *affectus* in Old English prefigure this range.

Taking a closer look at some of these instances, we can see that predilections of particular translators influence lexical choice. The pairing of *affectus* with *lufu*, for instance, occurs three times in the interlinear gloss to the Benedictine Rule: ‘patris...affectum’ is glossed ‘fæderes... lufe’ (2.14.11) (father’s love) in chapter 2, then later: ‘sed etiam intimo cordis credat affectum’ is recast into the vernacular as ‘ah he eac swy-lce mid incundre gelyfe lufe geeadmetende’ (7.34.4) (but also in inmost affection of the heart believes...). Third, ‘ex affectu inspirationis divine gratie’ is glossed ‘of lufe epunge godcundlicer’ (20.53.10) (by the loving inspiration of divine grace). The sites of emotion mentioned in these instances—the parent, the heart, and the deity—reflect the broad range of ‘love’ captured within a single term in each language, as well as the habitual glossing of *affectus* with *lufu* by this glossator.

In the Web Corpus, I count nine other occasions where this pairing occurs, all in glosses.²² *Affectus* does not appear to be paired with any other term connoting a specific single emotion in the extant corpus (such as words for ‘sadness,’ ‘anger,’ ‘shame,’ or ‘pride’), though it does gloss *gewilnung* (desire, longing) and *hyldo* (kindness), as mentioned earlier, suggesting a close affinity of *affectus* with the positive part of the emotional spectrum—love/desire/kindness—in particular. Further support for this association occurs in collocations with terms for the heart. When the site of affect is included in the Latin, the relevant Old English gloss is also provided: for example, ‘in affectum cordis’ is glossed as ‘on gewilnunge heortan’ (in the desire of the heart) in four psalter glosses (PsGlJ, G, F, I), and as ‘on tosettednesse heortan’ (in the disposition of the heart) in another (PsGlK). More interestingly still, the rare term ‘megsibbe’ (love between kinsmen) (BT) occurs only three times in the extant corpus, in three glosses for *affectus* (Corp Gl 2; EpGl; ErfGl), connoting ‘[affection between] kinsmen,’ in the formulation ‘affectui megsibbe [ve] l dilectione.’ In another gloss, *lufu* stands in for *megsibbe*: ‘affectum, .i. dilectionem lufu’ (AldV 13.1 [Nap] 238).

For Anglo-Saxon glossators, then, *affectus* was construed as ‘affection’ or ‘love,’ not as ‘emotion’ in general, which further problematizes our understanding of lexical and conceptual overlap between medieval and contemporary affect. This finding provides earlier evidence for the information contained in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, under the headword, ‘affect, n.,’ which cites instances from the late fourteenth

century CE, and definitions relating to senses of mind and body. The only non-obsolete meaning listed is:

5b. *Psychol.* (and *Psychiatry*). A feeling or subjective experience accompanying a thought or action or occurring in response to a stimulus; an emotion, a mood. In later use also (usually as a mass noun): the outward display of emotion or mood, as manifested by facial expression, posture, gestures, tone of voice, etc.

This broader sense (with citations from 1891) is the one now most usually associated with ‘affect,’ though the *OED* does list older citations (1398–1666) under this definition, which overlaps with 5b. cited earlier:

1a. The manner in which one is inclined or disposed; (also) the capacity for willing or desiring; a mental state, mood, or emotion, *esp.* one regarded as an attribute of a more general state; a feeling, desire, intention. *Obs.*

This later historical evidence suggests that the close association between Old English terms for affection and *affectus* (rather than this more generalized sense) was uniquely favoured by the glossators of Anglo-Saxon England. Some remnant of this sense is found in a later gloss, the *Promptorium Parvulorum* of 1440 (Harl. 221), ‘Affecte, or welwylynge, *affectus*,’ as listed in the *OED* under sense 2a: ‘feeling towards or in favour of a person or thing; kindly feeling, affection; (also) an instance of this. *Obs.*’ (s.v., with five citations from 1543 to 1633, all of which seem to connote ‘feeling’ or ‘emotion’ rather than ‘affection,’ so they pull against rather than support the *OED* definition which they are cited apparently to reflect). The paucity of later citations linking *affect/us* with exclusively or emphatically positive emotion or love only serves to confirm the specifically Anglo-Saxon understanding of *affectus* as evident from practices of glossing.

Perhaps in part as a reflection on the type of extant Old English texts for which we have glosses, but also indicative of assumed equivalence and cultural assumptions, Anglo-Saxon glossators seem to understand *affectus* as ‘will, disposition, or love,’ not as a general term or anything with the scope of ‘emotion’ more generally. Moreover, existing gloss pairs prefigure the later range of the term ‘affection,’ a line of inquiry that could be investigated in relation to translated rather than glossed texts, where a range of literary, rhetorical, and discursive factors come into play besides linguistic and semantic ones. Since scholars are still discussing the full semantic range and usage patterns of the Old English terms and the *Dictionary of Old English* has a long way to go, the apparent interchangeability (or not) of Latin terms and glosses provides further lexical and historical linguistic evidence about idiomatic and precise usage

patterns. It also sheds light on habits of thought and associative conceptualization during linguistic translation, as well as suggesting pragmatic and motivated approaches to the challenges of translating key texts into the vernacular. Further research into the specific, contextualized uses of all these terms in the context of glossing and translating Latin words can extend our understanding of the Anglo-Saxon conception and expression of emotion, as well as illuminate further the cultural and linguistic mechanics of translation and textual management.

Taking a more expansive view, the evidence from Anglo-Saxon glossing practices suggests that scholars working on the history of emotions do need to consider linguistic data and continue to explore the complicated workings of the affective life in cross-cultural exchanges, even when dealing with something as apparently straightforward, but as potentially complicated, as word-for-word interlinear glossing. We could come to appreciate more fully that for the Anglo-Saxon glossator, as for us, the apprehension and expression of emotional experience is as interdependent on individualized perception, verbalized categorization, and idiosyncratic linguistic habit as it is on grammatical rules and culturally conventionalized linguistic pairings.

Notes

- 1 On the last point, see Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards and Ethics of Difference* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998).
- 2 For a brief overview on the size and scope of the Old English corpus, see Robert D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).
- 3 On the incidence and rhetorical impact of this technique, see Samantha Zacher, 'Sin, Syntax, and Synonyms: Rhetorical Style and Structure in Vercelli Homily X,' *JEGP* 103 (2004): 53–76; *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. Donald Scragg, EETS OS 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 191; Greg Waite, 'The Vocabulary of the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*' (Unpubl. PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1984), 205–231; Sherman M. Kuhn, 'The Authorship of the Old English Bede Revisited,' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972): 172–180; Inna Koskeniemi, *Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Middle English Prose* (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1968); and Kuhn Sherman, 'Synonyms in the Old English Bede,' *JEGP* 46 (1947): 168–176.
- 4 On poetic vocabulary, see Malcolm Godden, 'Literary Language,' in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume 1: The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. Richard Hogg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 490–535.
- 5 Michiko Ogura, 'Old and Middle English Verbs of Emotion,' *Poetica* 66 (2006): 53–72; and 'Words of EMOTION in Old and Middle English,' in *A Changing World of Words: Studies in English Historical Lexicography, Lexicology and Semantics*, ed. Javier E. Díaz Vera (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2002), 484–499.
- 6 Klaus Ostheeren, *Studien zum Begriff der Freude und seine Ausdrucksmitteln in altenglischen Texten* (Dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1964).

- 7 Małgorzata Fabiszak, 'A Semantic Analysis of Emotion Terms in Old English,' *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 34 (1999): 133–146; and 'A Semantic Analysis of FEAR, GRIEF and ANGER Words in Old English,' in *A Changing World of Words*, 255–274; *The Concept of 'Joy' in Old and Middle English: A Semantic Analysis* (Pila: Wyższa Szkoła Biznesu, 2001), 104; and Małgorzata Fabiszak and Anna Hebda, 'Emotions of Control in Old English: Shame and Guilt,' *Poetica* 66 (2006): 1–35.
- 8 Kanerva Heikkinen and Heli Tissari, 'Gefeoh and geblissa or Happy Birthday! On Old English *bliss* and Modern English *happy*,' *Variation Past and Present: VARIENG Studies on English for Terttu Nevalainen*, ed. Helena Raumolin-Brunberg et al. (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2002), 59–76, at 60 and 74.
- 9 *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature, and Culture*, ed. Alice Jorgensen, Frances McCormack, and Jonathan Wilcox (London and New York: Routledge, 2015). This collection of essays is a key site for medieval affect studies.
- 10 Daria Izdebska, 'The Curious Case of TORN: The Importance for Lexical-Semantic Approaches to the Study of Emotions in Old English,' in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, 53–74.
- 11 Ibid., 61–62.
- 12 Antonina Harbus, 'Affective Poetics: The Cognitive Basis of Emotion in Old English Poetry,' in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, 19–34.
- 13 Robert Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 36 and 2.
- 14 Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 427.
- 15 Stanton, *Culture of Translation*, 12.
- 16 *Dictionary of Old English: A to H Online*, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley C. Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey, et al. (Toronto, ON: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2016), www.doe.utoronto.ca (accessed 27 January 2017). All Old English dictionary definitions from A to H have been drawn from this resource (hereafter DOE); other definitions have been drawn from Joseph Bosworth and Thomas N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898) (hereafter BT). See also *Thesaurus of Old English*, ed. Jane Roberts, Christian Kay, with Lynne Grundy, 2 vols, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000); and *The Historic Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. Christian Kay, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels and Irené Wotherspoon, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also *A Thesaurus of Old English*, 2017 (Glasgow: University of Glasgow. <http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/>).
- 17 Mechtild Gretsch, 'Glosses,' in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge et al. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 209–210. For a further summary of key issues relating to Old English glosses, see Patrizia Lendinara, 'The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 264–281, at 273–275.
- 18 See Michael Champion et al., 'But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,' *Revista Storica Italiana* 2 (2016): 521–543.
- 19 Ronald E. Latham, *A Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fasc. I (London: British Academy for Oxford University Press, 1975), s.v. 48. See also Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), s.v. 2: 'A state of body and esp. of mind produced in one by some influence... a state or disposition of mind, affection, mood.'

- 20 The editions and short titles used throughout are standard and detailed in the *Dictionary of Old English* (see www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html).
- 21 DOE Web Corpus: <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/simple.html>, s. *lufu* + *affect* (accessed 16 January 2017).
- 22 Mem 128.4; LibSc 6.22; OccGl 28 (Nap) 109, 110, 127, 324; Ald V (Meritt) 7.3 4; AldA 13.1 (Nap) 238, 1234.

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5 Before the Affective Turn

Affectus in Heloise, Abelard, and the Woman Writer of the *Epistolae duorum amantium*

Juanita Feros Ruys

As other essays in this volume reveal, there was a revolution in thinking about the nature of emotions, their functioning in the human person, and their role in the relationship between the individual soul and God taking place in twelfth-century monastic and early scholastic culture. These ideas, often focused on the terms *affectus* and *affectio*, are evident amongst the Victorines (Michael Barbezat), the Cistercians (Constant J. Mews), and female-centric monastic culture (Barbara Newman). Yet in this same period, the highly influential philosopher and theologian Peter Abelard (1079–1142), and Heloise, his former student, long-term intellectual colleague, and abbess of the Convent of the Paraclete (d. 1164), show themselves less moved by this new thinking on emotions, and more indebted to Augustinian ideas of *affectus* based in the will as disposition, intention, or inclination.¹ Ineke van 't Spijker has argued that although Heloise and Abelard are ‘both associated with an “inward turn,”’

theirs is not the inwardness that we find in the Victorines, where the *homo interior* is architecturally modelled after, for example, the Ark of Noah; nor is the emphasis [...] on the inner man as reflecting his place within a comprehensive cosmology. It is also unlike the affective interiority that we find in Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry [...] associated not only with inwardness, but also with an increasingly affective devotion—and with experience. Experience, thus, is primarily associated with feeling [*affectus*]. It is often contrasted with (discursive) thinking, which both Abelard and Heloise exercise in their works.²

The sense we get, then, is of Heloise and Abelard as the last major twelfth-century philosophers writing and thinking about *affectus* at the moment of the ‘affective turn’ (or indeed, after it was already underway, given that Anselm of Canterbury’s powerfully devotional *Meditations* had been written c. 1070–1080) while remaining remote from the valence of this term in the practice of affective devotion.³

Heloise

In relation to interiority, van 't Spijker observes of Heloise that she 'does not engage in [...] the affective, experiential aspects of devotion.'⁴ Indeed, Heloise's ethics, argues Brooke Heidenreich Findley, are based on a distinction between *animus*, which Findley defines as 'the innate moral qualities of the inner person,' and *habitus*, though not, she suggests, the Aristotelian sense of *habitus* that Abelard will adduce.⁵ By the same token, according to Sandrine Berges, Heloise is ahead of Abelard (and her twelfth-century contemporaries, other than John of Salisbury) in her understanding of Aristotelian virtue ethics, in relation to the virtue of moderation in the practice of the communal life.⁶

We can see this focus on intentionality, or *animus*, manifest in the only use of *affectus* to be found in the extant writings of Heloise, in her Ep. II to Abelard written in c. 1132. In a statement of the ethic of intention, Heloise argues that although she turned out to have a deleterious effect on Abelard's life ('Que plurimum nocens'), she was not at fault in this ('plurimum [...] sum innocens'). This is because the fault of any action lies not in its outcome ('Non enim rei effectus [...] in crimine est') but in the intention with which it was pursued ('sed efficientis affectus'). Heloise then immediately restates her case, claiming that it is not what is done, but the mindset with which it is done ('Nec que fiunt, sed quo animo fiunt equitas pensat') which demands consideration. She repeats the usage in her next sentence when she reminds Abelard what her *animum* (which Luscombe/Radice translate as 'intention') towards him has always been: 'Quem autem animum in te semper habuerim [...]'.⁷ This clearly renders *animus* (mind, intention, or, with Findley, innate moral disposition) as parallel with *affectus* in Heloise's usage.⁸

At the opening of her Ep. VI to Abelard, Heloise parses her understanding of *animus* further. She argues that we are less able to command our *animus* than forced to obey it, which again suggests it as an habituated state that can (pre-)determine our (re)actions and emotions.⁹ Indeed, she understands this *animus* as the *source* of the *affectiones* (feelings) that strike us with their largely irresistible 'sudden impulses,' and which are able to reveal the 'passions of our mind' ('animi passionum') by manifesting them in physical gestures or words.¹⁰

Abelard

We can find in Abelard's writings a number of references to *affectus* that are clearly indebted to Augustine. One appears in Abelard's *Commentary on Romans* with reference to Rom. 3:15 (itself a citation from Isa. 59:7): 'Swift are their feet to the shedding of blood' ('Veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem'). Abelard exegetes those with 'veloces pedes' as having a disposition, or perhaps, given the plural ('affectūs'),

intentions, that make them inclined/disposed towards homicide, even if they are not permitted to carry out such actions: ‘id est affectus habent pronos ad homicidia, etsi opera non permittantur implere.’¹¹ He then specifies that the foot by which we proceed signifies an ‘affectus,’ which is, as he further defines it, the will by which we are led to an action: ‘Pes enim quo incedimus, affectum, id est uoluntatem significat quo ad operationem perducimur.’

Abelard’s exegesis here in fact combines two lines of Augustinian thought. The biblical quotation from Rom. 3:15 appears frequently in Augustine’s writings, particularly his letters. A notable instance is his commentary on Psalm 13 where to the verse ‘ueloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem’ he adds the explanation ‘consuetudine malefaciendi’ (by the custom, or perhaps habit, of doing evil).¹² This would suggest that Abelard’s exegesis has transformed (and extended?) Augustine’s original ‘consuetudo’ (‘habitus’?) into ‘affectus’ and thence ‘voluntas.’ In addition, in their essays in this volume, Jonathan D. Teubner and Paul Megna draw attention to Augustine’s association of feet with human affections (and its long medieval afterlife), with Teubner citing Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos*,¹³ and Megna his *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*. In this latter commentary, Augustine argues that human *affectūs*, without which we cannot in fact live in this temporal world, are like feet when we are afflicted (or affected—‘afficimur’) by human affairs.¹⁴ Vincent Gillespie has noted the continuation of this Augustinian imagery throughout both Latin and vernacular devotional tracts of the Middle Ages where the two feet of the soul in their journey towards Heaven are contrasted with each other, the *pes intellectus* striding confidently in the right direction, while the *pes affectus*, ‘the foot of the affections or the will,’ hinders such progress.¹⁵

Abelard also reveals himself indebted to Augustine in his analysis of the role of *affectus* in prayer. He deals with this question in his *Carmen ad Astralabium*, a long poem of advice addressed to his son Astralabe, written in c. 1132, and with greater depth of terminology in his *Commentary on Romans*, written in the later 1130s. In the *Carmen*, Abelard advises his son to pray by fixing his attention upon God so that he is not wandering from God in his mind while his words merely make a show of his presence. Rather, Astralabe must direct his mind and his words to God equally (‘pariter uocem quo dirigis erige mentem’), so that he prays not merely by producing sounds, but with concerted intention: ‘ut magis affectus quam sonus oret eum’ (so that your intention rather than mere sound should entreat him).¹⁶

In the *Commentary on Romans*, Abelard delves deeper into this question. Noting that God is perfectly capable of reading hearts (‘corda’—a word Abelard defines with reference to *affectus* elsewhere in the same text¹⁷), Abelard considers why prayer should be articulated in words at all. He argues that in expressing our prayer verbally, we not only admit

to God that we require his help, but those words themselves arouse and move ('excitant et commouent') our 'affectus' and devotion towards God by their understanding ('intellectu suo'), so that the more our prayer expresses our devotion, the more efficacious will it be.¹⁸ Here *affectus* clearly has an affective as well as an intentional or dispositional component.¹⁹ Abelard appears to be proposing that prayer is most effective when expressed with heartfelt sentiment, in addition to understanding and a right disposition.

This brings us to Jonathan Teubner's essay in this volume,²⁰ and his observation that later in his life, Augustine theorized the affections primarily through the practice of prayer. As Teubner points out, Augustine addressed the question of words as against intention and feelings in prayer in his letter to the widow Proba (Ep. 130) on how to pray. In this text he concluded that an affective disposition, even if it resulted in non-verbal outpourings, would always outstrip in efficacy mere word formulations. Augustine's observations that in prayer, 'much speech is one thing, a lasting intention ("diuturnus affectus") is another' (which was cited by Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas Aquinas), and that prayer should be lacking in wordiness but not in the fervent continuity of intention ('feruens perseuerat intentio'),²¹ are clearly sources for Abelard's own thoughts on prayer and *affectus*.

Abelard was concerned about the relationship between *affectus* (as intention) and *effectus* (as outcome). His *Confessio fidei* 'Universis,' written at the end of his life following his condemnation for heresy at the Council of Sens (1141), is itself a study of intention, as Abelard argues that he has written nothing contrary to the faith either knowingly or willingly, and has pertinaciously defended no writing judged contrary to it.²² Amongst his statements of faith, Abelard declares that nothing of merit is ever lost from the sight of God, even if the 'affectus' (intention) of a good will ('bonae voluntatis') is hindered from procuring the outcome it desires ('a suo praepediatur effectu').²³ He adds that regardless of the opportunity to achieve the desired outcome, a person remains good so long as he or she retains the will to do good ('bene voluntatem operandi teneat').

The same idea appears in his *Commentary on Romans* where once again Augustine is the primary source. Here, citing Augustine's *De bono coniugali*, Abelard argues that there should be no distinction between the martyrdom of Peter and the martyr's crown advanced to John, despite the fact that John did not suffer in the way that Peter did. This is because God pays attention not to the suffering itself, but the willingness to undergo it: 'non tam passionis effectum quam affectum Deus attendat.'²⁴ By the same token, it must hold that an intention to do evil remains evil regardless of its ultimate success. Abelard considers this scenario in his *Ethica* in his discussion of what constitutes a sin and asks whether one should receive judgement only for the sins one has actually

managed to commit. His exemplar here is none other than the Devil himself, who ‘quod presumpsit affectu, non obtinuit in effectu.’ Asking rhetorically if such intention unsuccessfully applied should be free from judgement, Abelard replies with the brief and vehement ‘Absit.’²⁵

In Abelard’s writings where *affectus* seems to have a primary signification of ‘feelings,’ the valence of this term tends to swing between negative and positive poles. In the *Carmen*, for instance, Abelard draws on a Stoic sense of familial (and specifically maternal) affection as more related to animal instinct than an emotion proper.²⁶ Here he argues for the primacy of friendship over family, insofar as the former is a matter of choice based upon virtue in the Ciceronian sense of *amicitia*, while the latter only references blood ties that can possess no merit of their own. In this context, Abelard suggests that nature is a kind of compulsion (‘coactio quedam’) in which love (‘amor’) necessitates a bond between like or kin. Even beasts, he notes, are drawn along together according to this law of nature (‘nature lege trahuntur’), such that their ‘feelings’ (‘affectus’) remain devoid of the grace (‘gracia nulla manet’) of choice.²⁷ On the other hand, in his *Commentary on Romans*, Abelard uses the ‘affectus’ of fatherly love (‘paternae dilectionis affectus in filium’), along with that of a chaste wife for her husband, as standards for a disinterested love that discards utility in the choice of a love-object. He then argues that we should similarly bear a pure ‘affectus’ towards God and love him according to the good in him, and not the utility we might obtain from this.²⁸

Perhaps the answer to this distinction lies in Abelard’s categorization of carnal ‘affectus’ as against spiritual ‘affectus.’ In his *Ethica*, Abelard is scathing of the concern we as humans show for human judgement and affection, while we disregard our obligations to the divine. He notes that while we fear to offend humans (‘Timemus homines offendere’) or avoid them out of shame (‘uerecundia uitamus’),²⁹ we appear unconcerned about the wrongdoing we cannot hide from the sight of God. Indeed, we seem prepared to do or to bear more for our wife, or children, or even some whore (‘propter uxorem uel filios uel quamcumque meretricem’), than for God to whom we owe all things, and he concludes: ‘Carnal *affectus* makes us undertake or tolerate many things, spiritual *affectus* few’ (‘Multa nos facere uel tollerare carnalis affectus cogit, pauca spiritalis’).³⁰ The mention of family, and particularly of a girlfriend of sorts, suggests that carnal ‘affectus’ has much in common with desire, or wrongly directed affections.

Then, as the passage continues, Abelard considers the value of being moved to compunction by love rather than fear of punishment,³¹ and the true penitence that arises when sorrow and contrition of heart proceed from love rather than fear of punishment.³² Here, positive outcomes can arise from particular emotional dispositions. Within the conceptual framework that Abelard presents here, an ‘affectus’ would appear to be

emotionally inflected intention. The emotional dimension in itself is neither good nor bad; it is the object of the *affectus* and the intention of the one bearing it that renders the *affectus* either carnal or spiritual.

Abelard also understands *affectus* in relation to one of the persons of the Trinity. In his *Theologia Christiana*, Abelard distinguishes between the Father, whose name signifies power, the Son, whose name signifies wisdom, and the Holy Spirit, whose name signifies a ‘bonus affectus’ towards creation.³³ Abelard later explains this in greater detail, specifying that the name of the Holy Spirit expresses the ‘affectus’ of benevolence and love (‘benignitatis et caritatis’) inasmuch as the exhalation of our breath (‘spiritus’) is able to render manifest our emotions (‘affectus animi’), such as when we sigh for love or groan in trials of toil or sorrow.³⁴ More specifically, the Holy Spirit as the *affectus* of God can be characterized as a manifestation of God’s love: ‘quem dicimus ipsum affectum Dei esse siue amorem.’³⁵ Abelard explains that for the Spirit to proceed from God means for God to extend himself to another thing through the *affectus* of divine love (*caritas*), which he clarifies as God loving that thing (‘ut eam uidelicet diligat’) or joining himself to that thing through love (‘ac se ei per amorem coniungat’).³⁶

In the context of the power of God, Abelard’s operative distinction between ‘affectus’ and ‘effectus,’ evident elsewhere in his writings, collapses, with the two terms nearing synonymy. Thus, Abelard argues that God can be said to proceed towards his creation through the ‘affectum siue effectum’ of benevolence, since, depending on the ‘affectum siue effectum’ which he can be said to have upon his creation, God can be seen both as benevolent (‘quod benignus est’) and as acting benevolently out of his love (‘aut benigne aliquid ex caritate agit’).³⁷ Similarly, Abelard describes the Holy Spirit as proceeding both from the Father and the Son because its ‘bonus affectus’ or (‘siue’) its ability to produce an outcome (‘effectus faciendi aliquid’) originate from both God’s power (the Father) and wisdom (the Son).³⁸ In this collapse of the distinction between *affectus* and *effectus*, we see what Robert Miner has similarly argued in his essay in this volume—that concepts like *affectus*, when applied to God, mean differently from when they are applied to fallen humanity. For God, as there is no slippage between intention and act, so there is no distinction between *affectus* and *effectus*.³⁹

I conclude this study of Abelard’s use of *affectus* with an intriguing (and possibly unique) usage that moves the term beyond the realm of both human and divine intention and suggests a capacity for dispositional *affectūs* in animals as well. In his *Expositio in Hexameron*, Abelard is discussing the question of language in Paradise and argues that there was no need for Adam and Eve to have established human language in the (potentially) short space of time they spent there, since it is generally believed that the serpent spoke to Eve by hissing. Indeed, the first parents existed in a state of such great wisdom, Abelard

claims, that they could divine from natural sounds, such as hissing or bird calls, the intentions ('affectus') of such creatures, meaning the information they wished to convey in making such sounds.⁴⁰ This also suggests that an *affectus* has a necessary bodily or perceptual manifestation as an 'intelligible intention arising from some sensation'—it cannot be simply intuited, even in Paradise where different bodily exigencies apply.⁴¹ We have seen that for Abelard, then, the term *affectus* is polyvalent: it has a usage relevant to fallen humanity, another sense in relation to the divine, and even a function with respect to non-verbal animals.

Woman Writer of the *Epistolae duorum amantium*

It has been suggested, and the weight of evidence would seem to support the contention, that the collection of twelfth-century letter fragments known as the *Epistolae duorum amantium* represents what is extant of an early correspondence between Heloise and Abelard.⁴² Although the letters are only fragments, some containing no more than the superscription and perhaps the valediction, amongst the 48 or so fragments now attributed to the woman writer, the term *affectus* appears nine times. By contrast, the male author does not use the term in any of his fragments. This suggests that either it is a term the woman writer finds particularly useful in a literary/educational correspondence with her mentor in which she muses on the nature of love, or perhaps that the passages in which she employs this term especially appealed to the fifteenth-century abstracter of the original correspondence, Johannes de Vepria.

One instance of *affectus* found in the letters of the woman writer appears in the context of a discussion about intention, and so meshes with the use of the term evinced by Heloise in her Ep. II, discussed earlier. In Letter 79, the woman declares that she wishes to write an encomium on her lover, but laments that, for the moment, her anticipated failure ('defectus') to achieve this goal has confounded the intention ('intencio-nem') of her will / desire ('affectus') to attempt it.⁴³ The term 'intencio' also appears earlier in this letter, with the woman locating it in the inner person, where it undertakes the work of meditating on things to be done.⁴⁴ In fact, like 'affectus,' the term 'intencio' is much more a feature of the letter fragments attributed to the woman writer than the man, in this case by seven instances to two.⁴⁵ In addition to the use of 'affectus' in the same sense of an intention as employed by Heloise, Letter 79 also contains two other usages of the term characteristic to the woman writer of the *Epistolae*. One is the woman's location of intention, and so 'affectus,' within the interior person, and the other is her use of the contrastive pair 'defectus' / 'affectus,' which differs from the contrastive pair 'effectus' / 'affectus' employed by Abelard in his writings, as discussed earlier.

The interiority of 'affectus' is evident in a number of the woman's letter fragments, and we might note that interiority as a measure of sincerity (as opposed to hypocrisy) is a major feature of Heloise's writings as well.⁴⁶ In Letter 21, the woman writes to the man that as handsome as he is outwardly, he is even more outstanding in terms of his inner character or disposition: 'quam decorus aspectu, sed prestabilior es affectu.'⁴⁷ In the superscription to Letter 7, she greets the man 'with all her being and inner self' ('tota sua re et affectu'),⁴⁸ as though 'res' signifies her material outer body and 'affectus' her inner being (will, intention, feeling), the two combining to create an integral personhood.⁴⁹

In some cases, the woman's *affectus* clearly designates an emotional capacity associated with love. In Letter 76, the woman confesses that a feeling of inner sweetness compels her ('interne dulcedinis me hortatur affectus') to recognize the man as beloved above all others, though she is unable to express how greatly her feelings burn towards him: 'Quantus [...] erga te meus ardeat affectus.'⁵⁰ In Letter 86, where she sets the scene with profligate declarations of love for the man,⁵¹ she then declares that he displays his feeling of innermost and genuine love ('affectum') towards her ('michi tue intime et sincere dilectionis affectum ostendis') so that love and desire for him now blaze within her as well ('amor et desiderium tui semper in me ardescat').

The letter then takes a curious turn as the woman relates that although the man's 'affectus' has fattened her up (or perhaps in less striking terms, enriched her), yet his love ('amor') cannot fill her up: 'Impinguat me affectus tuus, sed non potest me implere amor tuus.' Given the sense of 'impinguo' as a term of fertilization,⁵² and the known course of the affair between Heloise and Abelard, it has been remarked that this statement constitutes the woman's oblique reference to a pregnancy that has resulted from their affair,⁵³ followed by her declaration that their love can still continue to grow beyond this embodied evidence of itself.⁵⁴ It is certainly suggestive in this regard that the woman's salutation to this letter invokes 'the fertility of Leah,' while also noting it as something that can be surpassed: 'post sollicitudinem Marthe, et fecunditatem Lie, possidere optimam partem Marie.' If this statement does indeed refer to pregnancy, then *affectus* here has a material aspect to it capable of engendering life, even though in earlier letters it was contrasted with the material *res*.

No account of *affectus* in the letters of the woman writer would be complete without considering her remarkable contrast of 'affectus' and 'defectus' in Letter 23. Initiating the inability topos that we have already seen to be a common feature of her letter fragments, she contemplates whether she is capable of writing to such a preeminent man. The fervent desire of her mind wills it ('Voluit animi fervens affectus'), but the incapacity of her desiccated aptitude denies her ('renuitque aridi defectus ingenii').⁵⁵ The woman then undertakes a spectacular rhetorical

flourish: personified concepts of *Affectus* and *Defectus* address her in turns in a psychomachia designed to persuade or dissuade her from writing the letter she intends. *Affectus animi* rebukes her as an ingrate, demanding that she respond to her beloved's generosity with words of thanks. Her intention to do so is then rudely interrupted by *Defectus* who criticizes her as stupid and feeble ('stulta et infirma') and demands to know where she is going in such a rush, impelled by the unconsidered intention of her mind ('inconsiderata intencio [...] animi'). In the end, of course, the woman writes her letter, trusting in the sweetness and mildness of the man to excuse the poverty of her wit and talent.

That *Defectus* should redefine the woman's 'affectus animi' as an 'intencio animi' gives a clear sense of the meaning of 'affectus' as intentional in this context, as does the verb 'voluit' which governs it. However, insofar as an 'intencio' can be described as 'inconsiderata,' and an 'affectus' as 'fervens,' the picture becomes blurred. 'Affectus' seems to be associated with the inner intention of the person, which is governable both by impulse (emotion/desire) and restraint (consideration of outcome). Perhaps it approaches what Monique Scheer has described as an emotional 'practice' that can 'encompass intentional, deliberate action,' while also including 'habituated behaviour.'⁵⁶ It also seems congruent with what we have seen in Heloise's letters as *animus*— a person's habituated moral grounding from which he or she reacts to any situation both cognitively and emotionally. This can lead us to consider whether Heloise's refusal of Abelard's imposition of Aristotelian *habitus* upon her ethical arguments, as Findley argues, was not just a rhetorical strategy in her construction and understanding of her past experience, but was rather motivated by the fact that for her, such a notion of *habitus* was otiose, being already part of the habituated emotional-cognitive-bodily practice that she identified by the term *affectus*.

Notes

- 1 On the indebtedness of Abelard's ideas of intention to Augustine, see William E. Mann, *God, Belief, and Perplexity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), Ch. 9, 'Abelard's Ethics' (a reprint of Mann, 'Ethics,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard*, ed. Jeffrey E. Brower and Kevin Guilfooy [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004], 279–304); Taina M. Holopainen, 'Intentions and Conscious Moral Choices in Peter Abelard's *Know Yourself*,' in *Rethinking Abelard: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Babette S. Hellemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 214: 'Abelard's ethics can be seen as part of the Augustinian tradition'; Margaret Cameron, 'Abelard (and Heloise?) on Intention,' *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (2007): 335, 337–338; and Brooke Heidenreich Findley, 'Does the Habit Make the Nun? A Case Study of Heloise's Influence on Abelard's Ethical Philosophy,' *Vivarium* 44, nos 2–3 (2006): 254, n. 20: 'Abelard's ethical thought is manifestly influenced by Augustine's doctrine that sin originates in the inner person, specifically in the will'; see also 268 on Abelard's extension of Augustine's thought. This research was undertaken through the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions (project number CE110001011).

- 2 Ineke van 't Spijker, 'Partners in Profession: Inwardness, Experience, and Understanding in Heloise and Abelard,' in *Women and Experience in Later Medieval Writing: Reading the Book of Life*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Liz Herbert McAvoy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 48. Van 't Spijker offers a more nuanced and detailed analysis of Abelard's thoughts on interiority, especially in relation to Hugh, in 'Conflict and Correspondence: Inner and Outer in Abelard and Hugh of Saint Victor,' in *Rethinking Abelard*, 84–101.
- 3 On the affective devotion of the later Middle Ages, especially that associated with women, see Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
- 4 Van 't Spijker, 'Partners in Profession,' 48.
- 5 Findley, 'Does the Habit Make the Nun?,' 248. For a modern discussion of the links between emotions and *habitus*, see Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220.
- 6 Sandrine Berges, 'Rethinking Twelfth-Century Virtue Ethics: The Contribution of Heloise,' *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 21, no. 4 (2013): 667–687.
- 7 *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and rev. trans. David Luscombe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), Heloise, Ep. II, §13, 136; see also the similar context in her Ep. VI, §25, 250. For usages of *animus* in terms of intentionality in Heloise's letters, see Findley, 'Does the Habit Make the Nun?,' 250–251, 253, n. 19: 'The primacy of the *animus* for Heloise has no exact parallel in Abelard.' Findley also notes that Heloise appears to prompt Abelard's own change of terminology from *mentis* to *animi* in his discussion of *habitus* (267). On the distinction between *animus* and *mens* in Augustine in relation to emotions, see Sarah Catherine Byers, *Perception, Sensibility, and Moral Motivation in Augustine: A Stoic-Platonic Synthesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 66, 100, 103–104.
- 8 Findley, 'Does the Habit Make the Nun?,' 273: 'making "the spirit in which something is done" appear to be another way of expressing "intention."' Findley argues for a distinction between Abelard's *consensus* to a sin, and Heloise's understanding of *affectus* as a disposition that allows the sin to arise (274); see similarly, Holopainen, 'Intentions and Conscious Moral Choices.'
- 9 *The Letter Collection*, ed. Luscombe, Heloise, Ep. VI, §1, 218: 'Nichil enim minus in nostra est potestate quam animus, eique magis obedire cogimur quam imperare possimus.'
- 10 Ibid.: 'Vnde et cum nos eius affectiones stimulant, nemo earum subitos impulsus ita repulerit ut non in effecta facile prorumpant, et se per uerba facilius effluent que promptiores animi passionum sunt note.'
- 11 *Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, in Petrus Abaelardus, *Opera theologica*, I. CCCM 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), I.3.15, 108.
- 12 Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, I–L, ed. Eloi Dekkers and Jean Fraipont. CCSL 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), Ps. 13.
- 13 Teubner cites Ps. 121; see also Augustine's commentary on Ps. 64: 'exeunt enim multi latenter, et exeuntium pedes sunt cordis affectus'; and Ps. 94: 'pedes enim nostri in hoc itinere, affectus nostri sunt.'
- 14 Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. R. Willems. CCSL 36 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), Tract. 56, §4, line 7:

- ‘ipsi igitur humani affectus, sine quibus in hac mortalitate non uiuitur, quasi pedes sunt, ubi ex humanis rebus afficimur.’ See also Byers, *Perception*, 94: Augustine ‘repeatedly describes impulses (*voluntates*, *affectus*) as “feet” that are walking or running.’
- 15 Vincent Gillespie, ‘Mystic’s Foot: Rolle and Affectivity,’ in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1982), 203; my thanks to Paul Megna for drawing this article to my attention.
 - 16 Peter Abelard, *Carmen ad Astralabium*, in Juanita Feros Ruys, *The Repentant Abelard: Family, Gender, and Ethics in Peter Abelard’s Carmen ad Astralabium and Planctus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 135, lines 899–902.
 - 17 See his gloss of ‘Cordi meo’ as ‘hoc est non simulata in exteriori habitu sed uera in ipso animi affectu,’ in *Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, ed. Buytaert, III.9.2, 229.
 - 18 Ibid., IV 12.14, 280: ‘Ipsa quidem uerba, quae proferimus, affectum nostrum et deuotionem intellectu suo in Deum excitant et commouent, ut tanto efficacior ipsa sit oratio quanto in orante maior est deuotio.’
 - 19 In fact, in his translation of the *Commentary on Romans*, Steven R. Cartwright, translates ‘affectum’ here as ‘affection’: Peter Abelard, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 338.
 - 20 See also Teubner’s recent monograph, *Prayer after Augustine: A Study in the Development of the Latin Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
 - 21 Augustinus Hipponensis, *Epistulae CI–CXXXIX*, ed. Klaus D. Daur. CCSL 31B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), Ep. 130: ‘aliud est sermo multus aliud diuturnus affectus’; ‘absit enim ab oratione multa locutio, sed non desit multa precatio, si feruens perseuerat intentio.’
 - 22 Indeed, one of the heretical *capitula* against which Abelard was defending himself involved his claim of the importance of volition in the judgement of an action: see Charles S. F. Burnett, ‘Peter Abelard, *Confessio fidei* “Uniuersis”: A Critical Edition of Abelard’s Reply to Accusations of Heresy,’ *Medieval Studies* 48 (1986): 117–119.
 - 23 Ibid., cap. XIII, 137.
 - 24 *Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, ed. Buytaert, III.8.18, 219; quoting Augustine, *De bono coniugali*, 21, 26.
 - 25 Petri Abaelardi, *Scito te ipsum*, ed. Rainer M. Ilgner. CCCM 190 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), §38, 38. On ‘affectus’ in the sense of ‘voluntas’ here, see Holopainen, ‘Intentions and Conscious Moral Choices,’ 219–220.
 - 26 On this see David Konstan, ‘Not Quite Emotions: Sentiments that Did Not Make the Grade,’ in *Affektive Dinge: Objektberührungen in Wissenschaft und Kunst*, ed. Natascha Adamowsky, Robert Felfe, Marco Formisano, Georg Toepfer, und Kirsten Wagner (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2011), 113–126.
 - 27 *Carmen ad Astralabium*, ed. Ruys, 99, lines 121–124.
 - 28 *Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, ed. Buytaert, III.7.13, 204: ‘Vtinam et in Deum tam sincerum haberemus affectum ut secundum quod bonus est in se, magis quam secundum quod nobis utilis est, eum diligeremus.’
 - 29 *Scito te ipsum*, ed. Ilgner, §58, 57.
 - 30 Ibid.
 - 31 Ibid., 58: ‘attendentes non tam timore penarum quam ipsius amore ad compunctionem mouentur.’

- 32 Ibid., ‘Et hec quidem reuera fructuosa est penitencia peccati, cum hic dolor atque contritio animi ex amore dei, quem tam benignum attendimus, potius quam ex timore penarum procedit.’
- 33 Petri Abaelardi, *Theologia Christiana*, in Petrus Abaelardus, *Opera theologica*, II, ed. Buytaert. CCCM 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), I.7, 74: ‘Nomine uero Patris, ut diximus, potentia designatur, nomine Filii sapientia, nomine Spiritus Sancti bonus affectus erga creaturas.’
- 34 Ibid., I.32, 85: ‘Nomine uero “Spiritus Sancti” affectus benignitatis et caritatis exprimitur, eo uidelicet quod spiritu oris nostri, id est anhelitu, maxime affectus animi patefiant, cum aut prae amore suspiramus, aut prae laboris uel doloris angustia gemimus.’
- 35 Ibid., IV.152, 341.
- 36 Ibid., IV.117, 324.
- 37 Ibid., IV.118, 324: ‘Quodam itaque modo a se ipso Deus ad creaturas exire dicitur per benignitatis affectum siue effectum, cum hoc ipsum quod benignus est aut benigne aliquid ex caritate agit, secundum affectum siue effectum quem in creaturis habeat dicitur.’
- 38 Ibid., IV.119, 325: ‘Ex Patre autem et Filio procedere Spiritus habet, quia bonus ipse affectus siue effectus faciendi aliquid ex potentia ipsius et sapientia prouenit.’
- 39 My thanks to Michael Champion for helping me clarify my argument here.
- 40 Petri Abaelardi, *Expositio in Hexameron*, ed. Mary Romig. CCCM 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), §448, 101: ‘ex sibilo serpentum uel uocibus auium affectus eorum cognoscerent.’ Wanda Zemler-Cizewski similarly translates ‘affectus’ here as ‘disposition’: Peter Abelard, *An Exposition on the Six-Day Work* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), §448, 112. See also Mark Amsler’s discussion of Franciscus Sanctius on non-human vocalizations in his essay in this volume.
- 41 My thanks to Michael Champion for this observation. Note that this renders ‘affectus’ distinct from ‘voluntas’ since this latter attribute cannot be applied to a non-rational creature: see Byers, *Perception*, 89.
- 42 Constant J. Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) (hereafter LLL, followed by letter number and page); Barbara Newman, *Making Love in the Twelfth Century: ‘Letters of Two Lovers’ in Context* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); C. Stephen Jaeger, ‘The *Epistolae Duorum Amantium*, Abelard, and Heloise: An Annotated Concordance,’ *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 24 (2014): 185–224; Sylvain Piron, ‘Heloise’s Literary Self-Fashioning and the *Epistolae duorum amantium*,’ in *Strategies of Remembrance: From Pindar to Hölderlin*, ed. Lucie Doležalová (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 102–162.
- 43 Mews, LLL 79, 282: ‘sed intencionem mei affectus hucusque distulit difficultas suspecti defectus’; 283: ‘but the difficulty of expected failure has so far defied the intention of my feeling’; Newman, *Making Love*, 190: ‘but the difficulty of my expected failure has kept me until now from completing what my affection intends.’
- 44 Mews, LLL 79, 282: ‘aliquid meditando concipit hominis interioris intencio.’
- 45 On ‘intentio’ in the *Epistolae*, see Mews, LLL, 131–135; and Cameron, ‘Abelard (and Heloise?) on Intention,’ 328. This frequency of references to *intentio* in the few letter fragments attributed to the woman needs consideration in light of Findley’s observation that in her letters, ‘Heloise never uses the word “intention” (*intentio*), a term typical of Abelardian ethics,’ instead preferring the terms *animus* and *affectus*: ‘Does the Habit Make the Nun?’, 271.
- 46 See Ruys, ‘The inner person vs exterior religion in Heloise,’ in *Encyclopedia of Concise Concepts by Women Philosophers*. See also Findley, ‘Does the

- Habit Make the Nun?'; van 't Spijker, 'Partners in Profession'; and van 't Spijker, 'Conflict and Correspondence.'
- 47 Mews, LLL 21, 226; 227: 'how handsome you are in appearance yet more distinguished in feeling'; Newman, *Making Love*, 106: 'how lovely you are in form, but nobler still in feeling!'
- 48 Mews, LLL 7, 216; 217: 'with all her being and feeling'; Newman, *Making Love*, 93: 'from her who is wholly his in reality and affection.'
- 49 See similarly Letter 79 where she declares that she has endeavoured to determine how best to address him with burning effort of both heart and body ('cordis et corporis')—that is both inner and outer being (Mews, LLL 79, 282.)
- 50 Mews, LLL 76, 280.
- 51 Mews, LLL 86, 290: 'Immensa vis tui amoris, indesinenter, incessanter, indubitanter, inenarrabiliter permanens in statu sui tenoris [...].'
- 52 *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule V, I-J-K-L, ed. D.R. Howlett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1257–1258.
- 53 John O. Ward and Neville Chiavaroli, 'The Young Heloise and Latin Rhetoric: Some Preliminary Comments on the "Lost" Love Letters and Their Significance,' in *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000), 64 and 105–106 n. 109.
- 54 Note, however, that Newman reads no such declaration, translating: 'Your affection is a rich feast for me, yet I can never be sated with your love,' *Making Love*, 201.
- 55 Mews, LLL 23, 228. This letter is the only occasion in the *Epistolae* where we find 'affectus' in a compound, here 'affectus animi'; given the importance of *animus* as an Heloisian concept of intention, this is significant. See also Mews, LLL, 133: 'The expression *affectus animi*, often used by St. Augustine to define interior disposition, is also a favorite phrase of St. Bernard to describe his interior state.'
- 56 Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice,' 200.

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6 Desire to Enjoy Something Thoroughly

The Use of the Latin *affectus* in Hugh of Saint Victor's *De archa Noe*

Michael D. Barbezat

For the twelfth-century theologian Hugh of Saint Victor, the human *affectus* is where the problem lies in the postlapsarian human quest for God.¹ In his treatise *De archa Noe*, often called the *De archa Noe morali*, and in his influential *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, Hugh explains the problem in detail, offering a definition of the word *affectus*, along with an explanation of its role within the linked domains of soteriology and human anthropology.² Hugh's understanding of the *affectus* relies upon other closely related Latin language terms for what we today would call emotions or emotional states. *Affectus* is linked to love and desire, often appearing synonymous with *appetitus*.³ Hugh's *affectus* is also tied to the will (*voluntas*). A single will, either by seeking things out or by avoiding them, forms various *affectūs*.⁴ For Hugh, the reorientation of the *affectus* from the temporal to the eternal constitutes the affective core of the religious life.

Hugh of Saint Victor (c. 1096–1141) was a major figure in the history of early scholasticism, where he lived and taught within the monastic community at Saint Victor on the left bank of the Seine near Paris. Hugh himself was deeply influenced by earlier theologians, particularly Augustine of Hippo, whose impact upon Hugh was so formative that he is often termed 'the other Augustine,' and the conceptual framework in which he situates the human *affectus* is deeply Augustinian.⁵ The *De archa Noe* has been called one of Hugh's most important books as well as his central spiritual work.⁶ In it, Hugh explicates the ark of Noah in four senses: the historical boat made by Noah, the ark of the Church in the current world, the ark of wisdom built in human hearts by meditation on the law of God, and the ark built by grace inside the human being in charity.⁷ *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, or *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, composed in the 1130s, is an early 'summa' or organized collection of theology, covering topics from the creation of the universe to eschatology. Hugh's interpretation and presentation of Christian theology exercised a tremendous influence upon

his contemporaries and later scholars, many of whom would go on to produce their own *summae*, such as Peter Lombard.⁸

Hugh's definition of *affectus* is deceptively simple, but it occurs in the context of a complex argument regarding interior experience in the human approach to God. He tells us '*affectus* is the desire of enjoying something thoroughly.' Elaborating further, he explains that 'some desires are good, and others are bad. Good desires are spiritual; bad desires are carnal.'⁹ The moral valence assigned to desire depends upon its object, following a model like the Augustinian distinction between use and enjoyment.¹⁰ A human should shape his desire so that it seeks only to enjoy God completely, as a good in Himself. The things He created, in contrast, should be used as methods to reach Him or as a 'relief of our natural weakness.' Loving God's creation in place of Him, using it as a 'source of lustful pleasure' is vanity.¹¹ This desire, because of its created object, is carnal, and it is bad because it bends the lover away from God. The desire to seek pleasure in the created world and in the self, instead of in the Creator, is the problem with the postlapsarian human *affectus*. Through an identical logic, Aelred of Rievaulx in the 1140s wrote that he had withdrawn from God 'not by the stride of my foot' but rather 'by the *affectus* of my mind.'¹² Hugh explains how, in order to return through the work of restoration, this *affectus* that leads away from God must change, and until it does, a human being will only experience what we, within a modern framework, might call 'emotional suffering.'¹³

The *De archa* begins with this suffering. Hugh records that one day the brethren at Saint Victor asked him to explain why it was that the human heart is so restless and unstable. Why was it, they desired to know, that great waves of different thoughts arise within it?¹⁴ These waves seemed to flow in all directions into an infinite proliferation of desires, any one of which, if met, would simply give way to more. The instability of the human heart, and its inability to ever be satisfied, Hugh explained, were problems of epistemology and of love, because knowledge and love are joined together.¹⁵ Adam, as he was first made, could see his Maker, and in seeing, he loved, and in loving, he remained attached to the object of his love, and in being attached through love to an immortal God, Adam himself possessed a life without end.¹⁶ Fallen man, in contrast, still tended to love what he saw, but what he saw were the created and changeable things of the terrestrial world. Love of the unstable is unstable itself, and this was why the heart knew no rest. The answer, Hugh argued, was to effect a change in the object of love, a transformation in the object to which the human will inclines. As Hugh explained, it required a change in the object of human desire and the orientation of the *affectus*. This change in orientation is by its very nature transformative, as the one who loves is changed by loving into the likeness of the beloved.¹⁷

Affectus played its role in the origin of the sin that disabled man, and it continues to play an essential role in the propagation of Original Sin thereafter. In a fashion, *affectus* is the lynchpin in humanity's disorder. Adam fell because of a choice he made under the influence of the *affectus* that he possessed for Eve.¹⁸ Since Eve originated in Adam's own flesh, Adam's *affectus* for Eve was itself connected to the natural bond of affection between the spirit and the body. God provided an *affectus* to the spirit for the flesh, so that it would care for it as a rider provisions his horse.¹⁹ As a result of sin, it is this *affectus* that has run amok, turning the rider into a servant, of sorts, for his steed.

Affectus run amok is concupiscence, a desire opposed to the love for God. Hugh defines sinful concupiscence as the 'natural *appetitus* or *affectus* transgressing order and going beyond measure.'²⁰ Within the veil of ignorance created by Original Sin, the soul has inadequate tools and motivation for resisting the pull of the flesh. The flesh provides incomplete data to the mind, which lead human beings to act upon the *appetitus* or *affectus* that they bear for the flesh in a disordered fashion. Following the *De casu diaboli* of Anselm of Canterbury, Hugh explains how the mind seeks to provide benefit to the body that it loves.²¹ A human being always seeks what is beneficial, and in fact can only love what is beneficial.²² The correct identification, however, of the mode in which a thing is beneficial is subject to error because of sin.²³ The mind cannot differentiate between pursuing apparent benefit in a right way or in a wrong way. Grace provides the only path through which to escape the fleshly *affectus*, allowing the soul to resist concupiscence through contact with a truth that is unaltered by the body's muddled senses, acquainting it with a benefit it would otherwise be unable to know.

Willing within the measure, maintaining order regarding the natural *affectus* or *appetitus*, is a will for justice, because justice itself is a measure in the use or enjoyment of goods.²⁴ This measure itself is primarily concerned with the way in which humanity enjoys, or should seek to enjoy, the ultimate good, which is God, from Whom all other goods descend and in Whose being they continue to participate in as much as they are good.²⁵ God placed two desires in humanity, the desire for the just and the desire for the beneficial.²⁶ The desire for benefit is present by necessity and 'can never be separated from the rational will.'²⁷ Its effect, in contrast, is separable. One can desire benefit and not possess it. The desire for the just is different. It is voluntary, and the '*appetitus* or *affectus* for the just' is separable from the will, but not separable from its effect, 'for to seek justice itself is to some degree to have justice.'²⁸ The effect of this desire is also its object. Since the desire, appetite, or *affectus* for justice implies some possession of its object, the abandonment of this affection involves the loss of justice.²⁹ Within this circular logic, a problem then arises in the consideration of the possibility of a return to justice. If one must, to some extent, possess justice in order to

desire it, one cannot return to that desire once it has been abandoned. When humanity sinned, it abandoned the desire for the just, and was left with only the desire for benefit.³⁰ This desire is a fallible thing which, outside of grace, cannot ever possess its ultimate object and, as a result, leads only to suffering and pain as it pursues illusory goods.

It is grace that makes possible the return to God, and the workings of grace by necessity combine affect and understanding. The human subject must somehow escape the tautology at the heart of the phrase ‘All who know Him love Him, and no one is able to love Him who does not know Him.’³¹ After sin, how can the human know God in order to love Him? As Ineke van ’t Spijker has noted, there is ‘an affective-hermeneutical circle’ at work in Hugh’s thought.³² The circle begins, as Hugh says, when the grace of God ‘stirs our will to desire its healing, when of itself it could only make us more infirm.’³³ The presence of God allows Him to be desired, and this desire allows the God to be found, Who was already there.

The *De archa* explores the experience of a growing awareness of the presence of God, through which He is increasingly loved and increasingly desired, and an important element of such an experience is the mutation of the *affectus*. In the interior of their being, a person must nurture wisdom like a growing tree. What a modern reader would recognize as various emotions or emotional states play important roles in the flourishing of the tree: ‘Wisdom is sown through fear, watered by grace, dies through grief, takes root by faith, germinates through devotion, and shoots up through compunction.’³⁴ In this process, the *affectus* changes: ‘We leave behind earthly concerns through fear, and we change the *affectus* through grace and sorrow.’ Faith and devotion confirm the soul, and it is through compunction that ‘we find the object of desire.’³⁵ In this process, the change in *affectus* is an essential element in the alteration of the object of desire.

While ‘grace’ and ‘fear’ change the *affectus*, the tree spreads its branches through caution (*circumspectio*), and the gradual change in the object of desire can be disrupted. Hugh explains that caution should be cultivated in four general ways, and each is a type of emotional experience: fear (*timor*), care (*cura*), necessity (*neceditas*), and *affectus*. He defines each one:

Fear is the anxiety of being placed in danger. Care is the concern of evading what is not beneficial or of securing what is beneficial. Necessity is the debt of giving or for accepting what is needed. *Affectus* is the desire of enjoying something thoroughly.³⁶

These four arise from the four genres of worldly evil, and all of them are passions (*passiones*).³⁷ Their experience exercises the faithful, and battles with them help the devout to recognize the inherent vanity of

worldly cares. It is here that Hugh elaborates upon his definition of the *affectus*. It is the desire to enjoy something thoroughly, but the object of desire is key. Some desires are good and others are bad. 'Good desires are spiritual,' and these desires are focused upon the changeless, rooted in God, the spiritual origin of being. 'Bad desires are carnal': they are an inclination towards the created as opposed to the creator.³⁸ Carnal desire, 'implanted in the heart like a strange graft,' wounds it and the faithful should, whenever such a wound is detected, seek to treat it.³⁹

The constant interrogation of desire plays a role in the construction of a house for God in the heart of the believer, and this house is the Ark of Wisdom. It is built from thought by both God and human together. Humanity, unable to see its God, is drawn to its Maker through desire.⁴⁰ When God speaks to fallen humanity after the initial stimulus of grace, He does so outwardly in a fashion that they can see, but He then withdraws Himself, hiding in a way so that His creatures can seek Him out through desire. These acts of speech, such as miracles, 'nurture our *affectus* and commit His charity to us.'⁴¹ The more God is desired but remains incompletely possessed, the more He is loved. Of course, the more He is loved, the more He is known.

The inner realm of desire that is nurtured within is the likeness of God. It is here that a refuge can be constructed against the flood of desires that drown postlapsarian humanity. In this Ark of Wisdom, all things exist simultaneously: 'The present does not follow the past, nor does the future supervene upon the present, but whatsoever is there, is there as in the present.'⁴² As in cognition, the coexistence of past, present, and the expected future in the soul is a similitude of its creator in whose mind all things exist. Living inwardly with God, 'we cease in a way to be temporal.'⁴³ Those who do not belong to time do not feel the agony of change. The experience of the divine present is the refuge from the unending worldly desires and the suffering they cause with which the treatise began. For Hugh, the answer to human emotional suffering, the problem of attachment, is found in the positive and reparative imitation of God through attachment.⁴⁴ Positive attachment participates in the partial reparation of the divine likeness in humanity. Inasmuch as we can experience time in Him whose image we are, we can be free of the suffering brought on by desire for what changes with time.⁴⁵ The inclination of the will and the orientation of the *affectus* it creates directs us to Him.

Abbreviations

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CCCM: Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medieualis

PL: Patrologia Latina

Notes

- 1 See the analysis of Hugh's theology and his ideas of human interiority in Ineke van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life: Religious Literature and Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), esp. 115–116.
- 2 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De archa Noe*, ed. Patrick Sicard. CCCM 176 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001): 3–117; 'Noah's Ark: I (De Archa Noe Morali),' in *Hugh of Saint-Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings, translated by a Religious of C.S.M.V.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962): 45–153. *De sacramentis christianae fidei*. PL 176:173–618; trans. Roy J. Deferrari, *Hugh of Saint Victor on the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1951).
- 3 On the relationship between the two terms, see Damien Boquet, *L'ordre de l'affect au Moyen Âge: autour de l'anthropologie affective d'Aelred de Rievaulx* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005), 109. I regard aspects of Boquet's analysis of Hugh's *appetitus iusti* and *appetitus commodi* as problematic.
- 4 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.6.17. See analysis in van 't Spijker, "Ad commovendos affectus:" Exegesis and the Affects in Hugh of St Victor,' in *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris: Form und Funktion eines Grundtextes im europäischen Rahmen*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Munster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2009), 225–228.
- 5 For a study of Hugh's influences and an interpretation of his theological program as a distinct contribution to a larger tradition, see Boyd T. Coolman, *The Theology of Hugh of St Victor: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). See also Dominique Poirel, "Alter Augustinus—Der Zweite Augustinus": Hugo von Sankt Viktor und die Väter der Kirche,' in *Väter der Kirche: Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit: Festgabe für Hermann Josef Seiben SJ zum 70*, ed. Johannes Arnold, Rainer Berndt, and Ralf Stammberger (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 643–668.
- 6 For this characterization and for Hugh's life, works, and importance, see Paul Rorem, *Hugh of Saint Victor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 129. Hugh wrote three treatises that utilized the image of Noah's Ark: *De archa Noe* (*De archa Noe morali*), *Libellus de formatione arche* (*De archa Noe mystica*), and *De vanitate mundi*. The *Libellus*, focused on what was perhaps an actual pictorial representation of the Ark, has been most popular in recent scholarship. On Hugh's ark treatises, see Conrad Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Mary J. Carruthers, 'Moving Images in the Mind's Eye,' in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 287–305; John Lewis, 'History and Everlastingness in Hugh of St Victor's Figures of Noah's Ark,' in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 203–222; Grover Zinn, 'Hugh of St Victor, Isaiah's Vision, and the *De arca Noe*,' *Studies in Church History* 28 (1992): 99–116; Zinn, 'Mandala Symbolism and Use in the Mysticism of Hugh of St Victor,' *History of Religions* 12 (1973): 317–341; Zinn, 'Hugh of St Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look,' *Church History* 40 (1971): 261–272.
- 7 Hugh, *De archa*, 1.3, 17.
- 8 For the possibility that Hugh taught Peter Lombard, see Marcia Colish, *Peter Lombard* (New York: E J. Brill, 1994), 1:17–20.

- 9 Hugh, *De archa*, 3.11, 79: 'Affectus est desiderium perfruendi. Desideria alia sunt bona, alia sunt mala. Et bona desideria sunt spiritalia, mala desideria carnalia.' Compare with Aelred of Rievaulx: 'Est igitur affectus spontanea quaedam ac dulcis ipsius animi ad aliquem inclinatio,' *De speculo caritatis*, 3.11.31 ed. Hoste and Talbot. CCCM 1 (Turnout: Brepols, 1971), 119.
- 10 Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 1.22, ed. Joseph Martin. CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 16–17.
- 11 Hugh, *De archa*, 2.3, 38: 'Quartus modus contemplationis est, quando inspiciamus creaturas secundum hoc quod homo eis uti potest ad explendam carnalis concupiscentie uoluptatem. Et in eis cogitamus non naturalis infirmitatis subsidium, sed libidinis oblectamentum.'
- 12 Aelred of Rievaulx, *De speculo caritatis*, 1.7.23, 21; trans. Elizabeth Connor, *The Mirror of Charity* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 99: 'Puto, Domine, quia non pedum passu, sed mentis affectu.' Connor notes some potential influences upon Aelred's wording. See especially, Augustine, *Confessiones*, 1.28, ed. Lucas Verheijen. CCSL 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 15–16.
- 13 I take this term from William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Port Chester: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124.
- 14 Hugh, *De archa*, 1.1, 3–5.
- 15 Hugh, *De archa*, 1.3, 9: 'Omnis qui nouit eum [Deum] diligit, et nemo diligere potest qui non nouit.'
- 16 Hugh, *De archa*, 1.1, 4. See also 4.5, 98–101.
- 17 On the Augustinian foundations for Hugh's ideas regarding the reform of humanity, see Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), esp. 153–283.
- 18 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.10. PL 176:291 A: 'Neque idcirco pomum vetitum comedit, quasi per illam comestionem Deo parificari se posse crederet, vel etiam parificari vellet; sed tantum ne mulieris animum quae sibi per affectum dilectionis sociata fuerat, ejus petitioni et voluntati resistendo contristaret.'
- 19 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.19. PL 176:295 C: 'Dedit ei [spiritui] Deus affectum quo corpus suum amaret, ut sicut ejus integritatem et sanitatem diligeret, sic etiam Omnia quae ad illam servandam valerent libenter provideret.'
- 20 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.31. PL 176:301 D: 'Haec est enim ipsa quae carnis concupiscentia vocatur, naturalis scilicet appetitus sive affectus ordinem transgrediens et mensuram transcendens.'
- 21 Anselm of Canterbury, *De casu diaboli*, ed. Bernardo Geyer, in *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Opera Omnia* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and sons, 1946): 1: 227–276; Trans., Thomas Williams, *On the Fall of the Devil* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2002).
- 22 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.20. PL 176:296 A–B. Compare with Anselm, *De casu*, 12, 1:254–255.
- 23 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.21. PL 176:296 B–D.
- 24 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.13. PL 176:293 A.
- 25 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.15. PL 176:293 B–C.
- 26 For the influence behind these passages, see Anselm, *De casu*, 14–16, 1: 258–262.
- 27 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.11. PL 176:291 D; 126: 'Rursum appetitus commodi inseparabilis est, quia secundum necessitatem inest, et a voluntate rationali nunquam separari potest.'

- 28 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.11 PL 176:291 D; 125: 'Appetitus quippe iustisive affectus separabilis est, quia secundum voluntatem inest; sed effectus illius, id est iustum sive iustitia inseparabilis ab illo est ... Ipsam enim iustitiam appetere, secundum aliquid iustitiam habere est.'
- 29 Anselm defines the absence of justice as injustice and this absence is what makes rational beings evil. See *De casu*, 9, 1: 68–69. See Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.16.
- 30 Hugh, *De sacramentis*, 1.7.17. PL 176:294 C–295 A.
- 31 Hugh, *De archa*, 1.3, 9. See note above for Latin.
- 32 van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life*, 77. On the hermeneutic circle in the context of emotions, see Karl F. Morrison, *'I Am You': The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology, and Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), esp. 30–31 and 191.
- 33 Hugh, *De archa*, 4.3, 94; 130: 'Gratia Dei preuenit et excitat liberum arbitrium nostrum, ut possit uelle sanari, quia per se non potest uelle sanari qui per se potuit uelle infirmari.'
- 34 Hugh, *De archa*, 3.7, 66; 104.
- 35 Hugh, *De archa*, 3.7, 67: 'Per timorem relinquimus censum terrenum, per gratiam et dolorem mutamus affectum, per fidem et deuotionem confirmamus animum, per compunctionem inuenimus desiderium.'
- 36 Hugh, *De archa*, 3.11, 75: 'Sunt autem quatuor: timor, cura, necessitas, affectus. Timor est anxietas periclitandi. Cura est sollicitudo euadendi incommodi aut commodi adipiscendi. Necessitas est debitum dandi aut indigentia accipiendi. Affectus est desiderium perfruendi.'
- 37 Hugh, *De archa*, 3.11, 76: 'Iste siquidem passiones omnes—uidelicet timor, cura et desiderium illicitum—male sunt.'
- 38 Hugh, *De archa*, 3.11, 79: see note above for Latin.
- 39 Hugh, *De archa*, 3.11, 80; 117: 'Hoc carnale desiderium quasi peregrinus surculus infixum menti grauitur eam uulnerat.'
- 40 Hugh, *De archa*, 4.4, 96: 'Irritat enim desiderium nostrum, ut augeat, quia et loquendo amorem suum in nobis excitat et fugiendo, ut se sequamur, inflamat. Tale est enim cor hominis, ut si quod diligit adipisci non ualeat amplius desiderio inardescat.'
- 41 Hugh, *De archa*, 4.5, 99: 'Sed quia mens uisibilibus assueta nescit tam cito ad inuisibilia consurgere, iccirco uoluit ipse quedam etiam uisibiliter exhibere miracula, in quibus nostrum affectum enutrit et suam nobis caritatem commendaret.'
- 42 Hugh, *De archa*, 4.9, 116; 152: 'Ibi preteritis presentia non succedunt, nec presentibus futura superueniunt, sed quicquid ibi est, presens est.'
- 43 Hugh, *De archa*, 2.1, 33: 'Si ergo per stadium meditationis assidue cor nostrum inhabitare ceperimus, iam quodammodo temporales esse destitimus et quasi mortui mundo facti intus cum Deo uiuimus.'
- 44 What I call reparative emulation is opposed to Hugh's characterization of Eve's sin in paradise as the pursuit of a 'perverse likeness' based upon comparison rather than imitation: *De sacramentis*, 1.7.10. PL 176:290 D; 124. See also 1.7.15. PL 176:293 C.
- 45 Hugh indicates that, in the present life, there are limits to how completely human beings can experience this refuge: 'We cannot at present be really constant in heart,' but we can 'undertake always to imitate true stability more and more.' See Hugh, *De archa*, 4.2, 90: 'Quia adhuc uere corde stabiles esse non possumus, interim saltem ab immoderata distractione corda nostra colligamus, ut, dum semper nitimur minus instabiles fieri, semper magis ac magis incipiamus ueram stabilitatem imitari.'

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7 *Affectus* in the *De spiritu et anima* and Cistercian Writings of the Twelfth Century

Constant J. Mews

Affectus and *affectio*, however we translate these words, became key concepts in Cistercian thought in the twelfth century. The figure most well-known for theorizing *affectus*—in the sense of inclination or what in German is called *Affekt*—at least in terms of friendship, is Aelred of Rievaulx (c. 1110–1167), whose ‘affective anthropology’ is the focus of an important monograph by Damien Boquet.¹ Aelred, however, was only extending ideas already developed by Bernard of Clairvaux (1190–1153), who, together with his friend, William of Saint-Thierry (c. 1085–1148), was thinking about what the Song of Songs could reveal about longing and desire in the human soul.² Deserving particular attention are two treatises about the soul, the *De anima* of Isaac of Stella (c. 1100–1169), in which he says he is responding to questions raised by his friend, Alcher, and the *De spiritu et anima*, a text which expands on Isaac’s Platonizing ideas about the soul with arguments indebted to Augustine.³ While the *De spiritu et anima* (hereafter *DSA*) would be widely circulated in the thirteenth century as a work of Augustine, this attribution was questioned by both Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.⁴ Their dismissal of its authority has influenced a scholarly tendency to downplay the originality of how its author responds to the ideas of Isaac of Stella about both reason and *affectus* in the soul. The *DSA* was much more influential than Isaac’s treatise in the thirteenth century in reformulating Augustinian thought about both reason and *affectus* prior to the impact of Aristotelian thinking about the intellectual soul.

The fact that the *DSA* quotes so many passages from Isaac’s letter to Alcher led its seventeenth-century editors to propose, not unreasonably, that it had been written by Isaac’s monastic friend.⁵ Nothing is known about Alcher other than that he was the dedicatee of the *De conscientia* by Peter of Celle (c. 1115–1183), who corresponded with many Clairvaux monks while he was Abbot of Celle, near Troyes (1145–1161).⁶ A reference Isaac makes in his *De anima* to an unusually severe famine suggests that he wrote to Alcher c. 1161/1162.⁷ In 1961, however, this hypothesis was questioned by Gaetano Raciti, who argued (without awareness of a detailed study by Norpoth in 1924) that while Isaac referred to Alcher as distinguished in *physica*, there was little in *DSA* about the physical

constitution of the body.⁸ Yet *DSA* differs from Isaac's *De anima* precisely in its interest in physiological issues. It argues that the soul was everywhere in its body, 'more intensely, however, in the heart and brain, just as God is particularly said to be in heaven.'⁹

Unlike Isaac, *DSA* expands on a scientific detail mentioned only in passing by Augustine, that there are three ventricles in the brain, but explains that they command the senses, movement, and reason.¹⁰ Its author goes beyond Augustine in explaining that the front part of the brain was devoted to imagination, its central part to reason, and its rear to memory, adjudicated by reason.¹¹ *DSA* also expands on Isaac's reflection on the power of reason in explaining that *physica* investigates natures 'through the experiences of things' (echoing Hugh of St Victor), just as reason or *logica* distinguishes truth from falsehood, and as *ethica* separates vice and virtue.¹² These details strengthen rather than diminish the likelihood that *DSA* was written by Alcher, a *physicus*. While Isaac focused on the soul in a more Platonic fashion, Alcher was combining physiological and spiritual analysis (unlike William of Saint-Thierry who separated his discussion of body and soul within his *De natura corporis et animae*, composed c. 1138, into two separate books). Given that no other writing of Alcher is known, it seems absurd to identify the author of *DSA* as 'Pseudo-Alcher.'

While no twelfth-century Latin author had direct access to Plato's teaching about the soul in the *Republic* (IV, 436ab), his argument that the soul had three core capacities of reason, desire, and anger, was transmitted through both Cassian and Jerome as the *rationabile*, *concupiscibile*, and *irascibile*.¹³ Augustine knew that Latin theorists spoke of *affectus* or *affectiones*, while others, following the Greek more closely, spoke of *passiones*.¹⁴ He saw this Platonic triad, however, as simply about fallen humanity:

Those philosophers who approached the truth more nearly than other philosophers, acknowledged that anger and lust (*libido*, not the morally neutral *concupiscibile*) are perverted capacities in the human character or soul, on the ground that they are disturbed and undisciplined, leading to acts which wisdom forbids and therefore they need the control of intelligence and reason.¹⁵

Augustine's preferred triadic image of the soul (and thus of the Trinity) was of memory, intelligence, and will, the latter corrupted through Adam's fall and thus inspiring the core affects of lust and anger.¹⁶ Augustine was here parting from the Platonic tradition, absorbed by Origen, Basil, and Cassian, that the capacity for desire (*concupiscibile*) was part of human nature, and not sinful in itself. The only time Augustine refers to *affectio naturalis* is when quoting words of Julian of Eclanum about the Song of Songs, to criticize his argument.¹⁷

Augustine saw desire not as a natural emotion, but the legacy of original sin, to be overcome by divine grace.

Despite their reverence for Augustine, William of Saint-Thierry and Bernard of Clairvaux were influenced by Origen to speak more positively about *affectus* and *affectio* (better translated as ‘affectivity’ than ‘affection’ because it could refer to carnal feelings of anger or desire). They were also responding to a wider interest in human love in the early twelfth century, manifest in contemporary enthusiasm for Ovid. Even in the early 1120s, William of Saint-Thierry was responding to such enthusiasm by reflecting that love (*amor*) was an innate human quality that could be transformed into the inclination (*affectus*) of *caritas*, considering that love was a natural affect that had been corrupted into a carnal rather than spiritual end.¹⁸ Bernard subtly transformed William’s teaching in the *De diligendo Deo* (early 1130s) by explaining that *affectio naturalis* was the first stage of loving God.¹⁹ With his gift for pithy phrases, Bernard declared: ‘God is not affect; he is affectivity.’²⁰ Bernard saw affectivity (*affectio*) as central to Christ’s longing for his risen body: ‘He mixes with the wine of divine love the sweetness of natural affectivity, by which he longs to recover his glorified body.’²¹ In this more positive understanding of *affectus* and *affectio*, Bernard laid the foundations for themes which Aelred of Rievaulx would develop in relation to love and friendship.²²

In his *De natura corporis et animae* (c. 1138), William of Saint-Thierry expanded on Plato’s triadic understanding of the soul by using the abstractions *concupiscibilitas* (desire or natural appetite) and *irascibilitas* (anger), perhaps influenced by their being used by William of Conches (c. 1090–1154) in his glosses on Plato (potentially by analogy with Abelard’s neologism, *scibilitas*).²³ Bernard mentions the triad briefly in his *Parabola*e and *Sententiae*, but not in any substantive way.²⁴ Aelred makes only a passing reference to this triad in homilies on Isaiah written c. 1163/1164, and avoids it completely in his *Dialogus de anima*, written shortly before his death in 1167, giving weight to Augustine’s preferred triad about the soul, namely, memory, intelligence, and will.²⁵

By contrast, Isaac of Stella expands on this Platonic triad in his *De anima*, arguing that the four key affects or inclinations of love and hate, fear and anger are derived from the morally neutral capacities for desire (*concupiscibilitas*) and anger (*irascibilitas*): ‘These four affects of the soul are like the elements and common material of the vices and virtues.’²⁶ Rejecting Augustine’s caution about reason, Isaac theorized that reason and affectivity coexisted in the human person, going beyond William of Saint-Thierry by expanding on an idea of Boethius in *The Consolation of Philosophy* about the four stages through which the soul could ascend, namely, sense, imagination, reason (investigating the world), and intelligence (investigating providence). Isaac added an additional stage, namely, *intellectus* as able to understand the soul, before

intelligence grasped the purely incorporeal.²⁷ Isaac thus defined the soul as having nine inner steps: the four basic affects or inclinations (love and hate, sorrow and fear), and five stages of reason, namely, sense, imagination, reason, intellect, and intelligence. Alcher reproduces the words of Isaac, but shortens and simplifies Isaac's core ideas:

For by five steps, rationality is exercised towards wisdom, and by four affects towards love: just as the soul advances in itself by these nine steps, by sense and affect, so it lives by the spirit with certain internal steps, so it may walk by the spirit to the cherubim and seraphim, that is to the fullness of knowledge and the kingdom of love, and the soul may have virtues through exercise, of which it has the opportunities through nature.²⁸

These nine stages within the human person parallel the nine celestial ranks. Alcher followed Isaac in expanding upon the teaching of Boethius about the intellectual capacity of the soul but combined it with what Bernard of Clairvaux had to say about *affectus* as integral to human nature, not simply as a source of sin.

Unlike Isaac, Alcher introduces into the DSA Augustine's dualist definition of the soul as a rational spiritual substance, parallel to the body as physical substance involving the senses—a definition much criticized by Albert the Great and Aquinas.²⁹ Alcher omitted Isaac's Platonizing comment, drawn from Macrobius, that a golden chain (*catena aurea*) tied together the universe, but still preserved his optimism about the capacity of the soul to absorb the universe (*capax universitatis*) through knowing and loving.³⁰ He fully accepted Isaac's notion of *concupiscibilitas* as the appetitive faculty of the soul, offering an optimistic vision at odds with much of what Augustine had to say:

For the soul is capable of all things, because through rationality it is found to be capable of rising to universality, through desire to love. There are therefore two things in the soul: and they are what is the soul, natural sense knowing all things and judging between all things, and [what is] natural affect, through which it loves all things each in its order and proportion. Indeed, it has the faculties and, as it were, the instruments of knowing and loving from nature; it has knowledge of the truth, however, and the order of love only from grace. The rational mind is thus made by God, just as it alone first receives his image, thus it is able to exercise knowledge and love.³¹

The brightness of divine light illumines reason to knowledge of truth, while its fire inflames *affectus* to love of virtue.³² Alcher followed Isaac in extending Bernard's key insight that *affectus*, inclination or feeling, was a core part of human nature, able to rise to God.

Alcher went beyond Isaac in introducing the term *affectio* or affectivity, by which the soul is urged to virtue: 'For the soul has *affectio* by which it is exercised to virtues. For sorrow for sins, fear of punishments, desire for what is promised, joy about rewards are like exercises of the virtues.'³³ Much more than Isaac, Alcher documents how *affectiones* can promote the virtues as well as lead the soul astray by the inclination (*affectus*) of malice. This leads him to reflect on how evil spirits can take over a human spirit, and lead to demonic possession.³⁴ Alcher shares Isaac's Boethian enthusiasm for the power of the mind to rise from sense to imagination and then to reason, adding further the idea that reason investigates the world through *Logica*, *Ethica*, and *Physica*, after which it could, through intellect and intelligence, contemplate the divine.³⁵ Unlike Isaac, Alcher was more wedded to Augustine's sense of the soul as a spiritual substance distinct from the material sense of the body. Alcher sought to avoid dualism by suggesting that the soul is joined to the body by feeling and friendship: 'no-one holds his flesh in hatred. ... he loves his prison and therefore cannot be free.'³⁶ Even if still prisoner to certain Augustinian conceptions, Alcher goes beyond Isaac in wanting to explain how the human *anima* both gives life to the physical body and is a spirit, capable of knowing God.

DSA concludes by emphasizing how reason and the affects work together:

So by divine disposition, reason is placed among the same inclinations in the heart of man, through which it can greatly discern and judge when it might rejoice or mourn, indeed what it might desire or fear. Indeed, those who taught that there was a triple power in the soul, namely reason, anger, and desire, seem to have understood them to be different inclinations, but joined by a certain kinship, fear, and sadness under anger, longing and joy under desire.³⁷

DSA presents *affectus* as 'a certain spontaneous and sweet inclination of the mind to God. For nothing inclines God to piety and mercy as the pure affect (or inclination) of the mind.'³⁸

Conclusion

The *De spiritu et anima* provides a thoughtful response to the ideas that Isaac of Stella had put to Alcher of Clairvaux in his *De anima*. Given the care with which its author responds to Isaac, there is no reason to doubt that Alcher is its author. He expanded upon Isaac's Platonic image of the soul, mentioned by William of Saint-Thierry and Bernard of Clairvaux, that the soul has natural capacities for reason, desire, and anger. Even though Alcher was keen to temper Isaac's arguments by adding Augustinian notions of the soul, he was still moving beyond Augustine's

perspectives on lust and anger in speaking about the natural capacities of the soul for desire (*concupiscibilitas*) and anger (*irascibilitas*). Each of these Cistercian authors sought to overcome the potential for dualism in Augustine's thought. Bonaventure built on a core theme of the *DSA*, which he accepted as by Augustine, in arguing that the mind ascended through sense, imagination, reason, intellect, and intelligence, and that it climaxed in *synderesis* or the spark of conscience, through which it might know God.³⁹ By contrast, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas doubted that the *De spiritu et anima* was by Augustine and preferred Aristotle's notion of the soul as the form of the body. In developing Isaac of Stella's innovative ideas about the soul into ideas about the soul and the spirit, the *De spiritu et anima* offered a vision of the human person as comprising dispositions of both reason and affectivity still worthy of attention, even if not everybody accepted the Augustinian assumptions about the body and soul it also sought to include.

Notes

- 1 Damien Boquet, *L'ordre de l'affect au Moyen Age: autour de l'anthropologie affective d'Aelred de Rievaulx* (Caen: Centre de recherches archéologiques et médiévales, 2005), with comments on *De spiritu et anima* on 120, 144, 155–156, 170.
- 2 The writings of Bernard are edited by Jean Leclercq et al., *Sancti Bernardi Opera* [hereafter *SBO*], 8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–1987); those of William of Saint-Thierry are edited by Paul Verdeyen, *Guillelmus a Sancto Theodorico, Opera Omnia I-III*. CCCM 86–89 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989–2005).
- 3 References to *De spiritu et anima* [hereafter *DSA*] are to the edition reprinted in PL 40: 779–832. *DSA* was translated by Erasmo Leiva and Sr Benedicta Ward, alongside Isaac of Stella's *De anima* and William of Saint-Thierry's *De natura corporis et animae*, in *Three Treatises on Man: A Cistercian Anthropology*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 177–282, and commented on by McGinn within his introduction to that volume. The scholarship on *DSA* is summarized in J. Machiels, *Clavis Patristica Pseudoepigraphorum Medii Aevi* 2A: Theologia, Ascetica (Turnhout: Brepols, (1994), 76–78, no. 153.
- 4 Albert the Great, *Super quatuor libros Sententiarum*, Id. 8 art. 25, in *Alberti Magni Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Borgnet (Paris: Vivès, 1893), 1:257b–258a: '... quod non est Augustini, sed cujusdam Guillelmi cisterciensis qui multa falsa dixit.' Thomas Aquinas also voiced reserve: *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, 15.1.1, ed. P. Marc, C. Pera, and O. Caramello, in *Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, vol. 22.3 (Rome: Commissio Leonina, 1974), 481: 'Ad primum igitur dicendum, quod liber de spiritu et anima non est authenticus, nec creditur esse Augustini.' Thomas had previously had attributed it to Augustine in *Quaestio disputata de spiritualibus creaturis*, art. 3.6, ed. J. Cos, vol. 24.2 (Rome: Commissio Leonina, 2000), 378, but he says in the same work, 11.2, ed. Cos, 413: 'Ad secundum dicendum quod liber de spiritu et anima est apocryphus, cum enim auctor ignoretur, et sunt ibi multa vel falsa vel improprie dicta: quia ille qui librum composuit, non intellexit dicta sanctorum, a quibus accipere conatus fuit.'

- 5 Isaac of Stella, *De anima*, PL 194: 1875–1890, ed. Caterina Tarlazzi, “L’*Epistola de anima* di Isacco di Stella: studio della tradizione ed edizione del testo,” *Medioevo* 36 (2011): 167–278. Tarlazzi introduces a new manuscript of Isaac’s *De anima* and identifies the role of Bertrand Tissier, the original editor of Isaac of Stella (1664), in attributing DSA to Isaac before Pierre Coustant assigned it to Alcher, in his edition of DSA (1685; reprinted PL 40: 779–790), in ‘Il manoscritto 469 della bibliotheca Teresiana di Mantova e Alchero “di Clairvaux”,’ *Medioevo* 35 (2010): 323–340. The *De anima* is translated by Daniel Deme in *The Selected Works of Isaac of Stella: A Cistercian Voice from the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot; Ashgate, 2007), 143–157.
- 6 Peter of Celle, *De conscientia*, PL 202: 1083–1096. Peter corresponded with many monks of Clairvaux while he was abbot (1145–1162) of La Celle, near Troyes; see *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 182–235, nos. 45–51.
- 7 Isaac, *De anima*, PL 180:1890A (ed. Tarlazzi, 173): ‘Venerunt enim hoc anno super regiones nostras mala pestilentiae et famis, qualia omnia retro saecula, ut putatur, non viderunt.’ The severity of this famine throughout Aquitaine and beyond is mentioned in *Boso’s Life of Alexander III*, trans. G. M. Ellis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 54.
- 8 Gaetano, Raciti. ‘L’autore del “De spiritu et anima”,’ *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 53 (1961): 385–401. These doubts were repeated by McGinn in his introduction to *Three Treatises*. McGinn was similarly unaware of the discussion in Leo Norpoth, *Der pseudo-augustinische Traktat: De spiritu et anima* (Cologne: Institut für Geschichte der Medizin, 1971), 7–36 (a publication of a thesis originally submitted in 1924).
- 9 DSA, 18 (794): ‘sic anima ... intensius tamen in corde et in cerebro, quemadmodum Deus praecipue dicitur esse in coelo.’
- 10 Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, 7.18, ed. Joseph Zycha. CSEL 28, 1 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), 215; see also William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, 1.15, ed. E. Jeaneau. CCCM 203 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 28.
- 11 DSA, 18, 22, 25, 33 (794, 795, 798, 802).
- 12 DSA, 37 (808): ‘Ratio vis est animae supra corporalia, et infra spiritualia collocata: secernit enim vera a falsis, quod est Logicae; virtutes a vitiis, quod est Ethicae; et per experimenta rerum investigat naturas, quod est Physicae. In his vero tribus tota Philosophia consistit.’ Hugh of St Victor speaks of researching the natures of things in *Epitome Dindimi in philosophiam*, ed. Roger Baron in *Hugonis de Sancto Victore opera propaedeutica* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), 197, but of learning *per experimenta rerum* in *De archa Noe*, 3.11, ed. Patrice Sicard. CCCM 176 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 77.
- 13 See Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, 1.1, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 75 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1964), 11–12 and John Cassian, *Collationes*, 24.15 and 24.17, ed. M. Petschenig. CSEL 13 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1886), 691 and 694. On this triad, see Boquet, *L’ordre de l’affect*, 151–155, and David Bell, ‘The Tripartite Soul and the Image of God in the Latin Tradition,’ *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 47 (1980): 16–52.
- 14 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 9.4, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb. CCSL 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), 251: ‘duae sunt sententiae philosophorum de his animi motibus, quae graeci πάθη, nostri autem quidam, sicut Cicero, perturbationes, quidam affectiones uel affectus, quidam uero, sicut iste, de graeco expressius passiones uocant.’
- 15 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 14.19, ed. Dombart-Kalb, 441: ‘Hinc est quod et illi philosophi, qui ueritati propius accesserunt, iram atque libidinem

- uitiosas animi partes esse confessi sunt, eo quod turbide atque inordinate mouerentur ad ea etiam, quae sapientia perpetrari uetat, ac per hoc opus habere moderatrice mente atque ratione.’
- 16 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 14.19, ed. Dombart-Kalb, 442.
 - 17 Augustine, *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*, 1.71, ed. M. Zelzer. CSEL, 85, 1–2 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1974–2004), 1:81: ‘Non ergo potuit haec concupiscentia, quae cum modum non tenet, peccat, cum uero intra limitem concessorum tenetur, affectio naturalis et innocens est: non, inquam, potuit fructus esse peccati, quae docetur non suo quidem uitio, sed uoluntatis occasio fuisse peccati.’ Unlike Cassian, *Collationes*, 16.2 (Petschenig, 240) and Basil, *Regula*, 2.28 and 156.9, ed. K. Zelzer, CSEL, 86 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1986), 13 and 181, Augustine never mentions *affectus naturalis*.
 - 18 William of Saint-Thierry, *De natura et dignitate amoris*, 12, ed. Verdeyen. CCCM 88:186.
 - 19 Bernard, *De diligendo Deo*, 23, ed. Leclercq et al., SBO 3:138.
 - 20 Bernard, *Liber de consideratione*, 5.17, ed. Leclercq et al., SBO 3:480: ‘Non est affectus Deus; affectio est.’
 - 21 *Liber de consideratione*, 32, ed. Leclercq et al., SBO 3:146: ‘Vino enim divini amoris miscet etiam tunc dulcedinem naturalis affectionis, qua resumere corpus suum, ipsum que glorificatum, desiderat.’
 - 22 Aelred of Rievaulx, *De speculo caritatis*, 3.14, 3.26, 3.29, ed. C. H. Talbot. CCCM 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 121–122, 133–134, 137–138; and *Compendium speculi caritatis*, 21, 32, 34; ed. R. Vander Plaetse. CCCM 1: 201, 209, 212; see Boquet, *L’ordre de l’affect*, 275–323.
 - 23 William of Saint-Thierry, *De natura corporis et animae*, 89, ed. Verdeyen. CCCM 88: 134. He may have taken these abstract neologisms from William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, 1.75, ed. Jeauneau. CCCM 203: 132. On *scibilitas* in Abelard and a love letter of the young Heloise, see Constant J. Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 129–130, 189.
 - 24 See Bernard, *Parabola*, 5.1, ed. Leclercq et al., SBO 6.2:282, and *Sententiae*, ser. 3.9 and 105, SBO 6.2:69 and 170.
 - 25 *Homiliae de oneribus prophetis Isaiae*, 19.24, ed. G. Raciti. CCCM 2D (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 220.
 - 26 Isaac, *De anima*, PL 194: 1878B (ed. Tarlazzi, 177): ‘Qui quidem quatuor affectus animae omnium sunt vitiorum aut virtutum quasi quaedam elementa, et communis materies.’ Repeated in *DSA* 4 (782), changing ‘elementa’ to ‘principia.’
 - 27 Isaac, *De anima*, PL 194: 1880AB (ed. Tarlazzi, 157), alluding to Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio*, 5.4, ed. L. Bieler. CCSL 94 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 98. See also Hugh of St Victor, *Miscellanea* I, 15. PL 177: 485BC.
 - 28 Isaac, *De anima*, PL 194: 1880B (ed. Tarlazzi, 157), adapted in *DSA*: ‘Quinque etenim [*DSA* enim] progressionibus rationabilitas exercetur ad sapientiam, sicut ipse affectus, seu voluntas [sicut ... voluntas: *DSA* et] quatuor ad charitatem, quatenus [*om. DSA*] novem istis progressibus anima in semetipsa proficiens, sensu et affectu quasi internis [quasi internis: quaternis *DSA*] quibusdam pedibus, quae spiritu vivit, spiritu ambulet, usque ad cherubim et seraphim, id est plenitudinem scientiae, et rogam [regnum *DSA*] charitatis, habeatque in se per exercitium virtutes, quarum per naturam habet facultates [quatenus sicut coelum dicitur, quoniam sedes est sapientiae, sic et suis in se quasi coelestibus et ornetur ordinibus, et ordinetur virtutibus: *om. DSA*].’

- 29 DSA, 3 (781); 24 (796); see also Augustine, *De trinitate libri XV*, 2.8, ed. W. J. Mountain, CCSL 50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968).
- 30 Isaac, *De anima*, PL 194: 1885C (ed. Tarlazzi, 166): 'Hac igitur quasi aurea catena poetae, vel ima dependent a summis, vel erecta scala prophetae ascenditur ad summa de imis.' This alludes to Macrobius, *Somnium Scipionis*, 1.14.15, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1970), 58. On this theme, see Bernard McGinn, *The Golden Chain: A Study in the Theological Anthropology of Isaac of Stella* (Washington, DC: Cistercian Publications, 1972).
- 31 DSA, 7 (784), paraphrasing Isaac, *De anima*, PL 94: 1887CD (ed. Tarlazzi, 170–171): 'Capax est omnium anima, quia per rationalitatem ad cognitionem, et per concupiscibilitatem ad dilectionem universitatis capax invenitur. Sunt enim duo in anima, et sunt id quod anima, scilicet naturalis sensus cognoscens omnia et dijudicans inter omnia; et naturalis affectus, quo suo ordine et gradu anima diligit omnia. Verumtamen facultates et quasi instrumenta cognoscendi et diligendi habet ex natura; cognitionem tamen veritatis et ordinem dilectionis nequaquam habet nisi ex gratia.'
- 32 DSA, 12 (787), quoting Isaac, *De anima*, PL 95: 1888D (ed. Tarlazzi, 172–173).
- 33 DSA, 20 (794): 'Habet anima affectiones, quibus exercetur ad virtutes. Dolor namque de peccatis, timor de suppliciis, desiderium de promissis, gaudium de praemiis quaedam exercitia sunt virtutum.'
- 34 DSA, 27 (799): 'Implere autem dicitur satanas mentem alicujus et principale cordis, non ingrediens quidem in eum et in sensum ejus; sed fraude et iniquitate, atque omni malitia illum alliciens, atque seducens affectu malitiae, trahit per cogitationes et incentiva vitiorum, quibus ipse plenus est, utpote fallax, nequam et fraudulentus deceptor animarum.'
- 35 See n. 12 above.
- 36 DSA, 14 (789): 'Quibusdam affectibus et quadam amicitia anima corpori conjungitur, secundum quam amicitiam nemo carnem suam odio habet. Sociata namque illi, licet ejus societate praegravetur, ineffabili tamen conditione diligit illud; amat carcerem suum, et ideo libera esse non potest.'
- 37 DSA, 46 (814): 'Unde etiam divina dispositione media inter eosdem affectus constituta est ratio in corde hominis, per quam nimirum discernere et dijudicare possit unde gaudeat seu doleat, imo etiam quid cupiat vel quid timeat. Sane qui triplicem esse vim animae docuerunt, rationalem illam, irascibilem et concupiscibilem asserentes, affectus quidem diversos, sed quadam sibi cognatione junctos, sub irascibili metum et tristitiam, sub concupiscibili desiderium et laetitiam comprehendisse videntur.'
- 38 DSA, 50 (816): 'Affectus est spontanea quaedam ac dulcis ipsius animi ad Deum inclinatio. Nil enim ita Deum inclinatur ad pietatem et misericordiam, quemadmodum purus mentis affectus.'
- 39 Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, in *Opera omnia*, 5 (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1891), 295–313.

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8 *Affectus* from Hildegard to Helfta

Barbara Newman

Lexical studies add to our knowledge in two ways: they contribute to the biography of a word or concept, and they shed an oblique light on the authors in question. For this volume on *affectus*, I have chosen to compare the two largest corpora produced by women writing in Latin. The works of St Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) include three substantial tomes of visionary theology—*Sciuias*, *Liber uite meritorum*, and *Liber diuinorum operum*—as well as an extensive correspondence. A little more than a century later, the nuns of Helfta in Saxony produced two significant works of mystical theology, the *Liber specialis gratiae* (c. 1291–1299) and *Legatus divinae pietatis* (1289–c. 1302). These are based, respectively, on the revelations of Mechthild of Hackeborn and her protégée, St Gertrude the Great, but the authorship of both is collective and largely anonymous. I will look here at the *Liber specialis gratiae*, which had a far wider dissemination and greater influence in the late Middle Ages.¹

Although these two corpora differ greatly, the semantic range of *affectus* is almost identical in both. More common than its near-synonym, *affectio*, for the German nuns *affectus* denotes what we still call affection, a personal warmth and cherishing of either God or another person—at once an emotion and a virtue. Compared with related terms, *affectus* is less fervent and desirous than *amor*, while it lacks the biblical resonance of *caritas*. Of the three medieval Latin terms for love, used variously in the nuns' writings, *affectus* stands closest to *dilectio*, without implying an exclusive or erotic relationship. Its plural *affectūs* denotes 'feelings' or 'affections' in a broader sense, again with generally positive connotations, but this plural is rare in both corpora.

In Hildegard's case, we can learn a great deal from discrepancies between the abbess's own usage and the language of those close to her. Let us begin with her correspondence.² At least 22 authentic letters to the saint use the terms *affectus* or (more rarely) *affectio*, yet she herself never employs either. Those correspondents, including two bishops, eleven abbots, and five abbesses, represent a good cross-section of the twelfth-century *ars dictaminis*. They use *affectus* most often in formulas

of salutation or *captatio benevolentiae*, where it normally means ‘affection.’³ Here are some typical instances:

toto ei humilitatis et deuotionis affectu studeas respondere (1R)
strive to respond to [God] with every sentiment of humility and devotion.

tamen te tota mentis affectione dilexi. (144)
yet I have loved you with all the affection of my mind.

uobis intimo caritatis astringor affectu. (157)
I am bound to you by the intimate affection of charity.

orationes quas potest cum sincere fidei et dilectionis affectu. (186)
such prayers as she can offer, with the affection of sincere faith and love.

domine et matri sue Hildegardi ..., intime dilectionis et orationis affectum. (191)
To his lady and mother Hildegard, [he sends] the affection of intimate love and prayer.⁴

Affectus in such greetings tends to be accompanied by terms like *fides*, *dilectio*, *caritas*, *obsequium*, and *devotio*. It is intimate and sincere, resides in either the mind or the heart, and can be qualified as paternal, filial, or maternal. One Premonstratensian abbot not only prays for Hildegard with affectionate love (‘cum omni affectuose dilectionis obsequio’) and longs for her affection with frequent sighs (‘crebris suspiriis’), but sends her an account of the relationship between *caritas* and *affectus*:

Caritas sine affectu frigidus ignis simillima uidetur. Nam sicut ignis sine feruore ferrum ferro conglutinare non ualet, ita et caritas sine affectu nequaquam efficere potest ut credentium sit cor unum et anima una in Deo. Caritas uera ipsa est affectuosa. Hec animam adherere Deo facit, ut unus cum eo spiritus efficiatur. Hec uelut unicum gluten mentes fidelium connectit, ut sint unius uoluntatis in Deo, facitque gaudere cum gaudentibus et flere cum flentibus.⁵

Charity without affection seems like a frigid fire. For just as fire without heat cannot weld iron to iron, so charity without affection can by no means cause believers to be of one heart and one soul in God. True charity is itself affectionate. This is what makes the soul cling to God, that it may become one spirit with him. Like a binding glue, it unites the minds of the faithful so that they may be of one will in God, and it makes them rejoice with those who rejoice and weep with those who weep.

This letter gives a clear sense of *affectus* as an emotion word. If *caritas* is construed merely as a commandment or an abstract principle, it is a cold virtue that cannot procure either divine love or communal harmony. Rather, it must be warm and full of human feeling—the dimension supplied by *affectus*. The abbot's letter could even be read as a polemic against the chilly formal appeals to *caritas* that tempted some epistolary writers.

Unlike her correspondents, Hildegard never employs the term *affectus* or similar formulas of the *ars dictaminis*, not even when writing to her beloved protégée, Richardis. The air of sweetness and effusive emotionality that dominates twelfth-century letters, especially in the Cistercian ambit, is utterly lacking in hers. If we ask why, it is not enough to say that, as an autodidact, she had never studied the art of letter writing. That is undoubtedly true, but she received enough letters to be aware of its standard phrases. Most likely, it was her self-conception and literary persona as a prophet that distanced her from the conventional language of affection, even when she felt it. Prophets do not require a *captatio benevolentiae*—they speak with authority. While Hildegard could and did express emotion when she wished to, she employed a forceful, idiosyncratic idiom, heavy with biblical echoes, that could never be mistaken for the *ars dictaminis*.

In her great theological works, *Sciuias* and *Liber diuinorum operum*, she does sometimes mention *affectus*, though rarely. In the *Sciuias*, it has pious, usually sacramental connotations. Baptisands or their sponsors should approach the font 'in affectu deuotionis,' communicants should receive Christ's body 'sincero affectu,' a dying penitent should confess his sins 'ex intimo affectu cordis sui,' and a priest must avoid intercourse 'carnali affectu.'⁶ In the last section of the *Liber diuinorum operum*, each of the five visions ends with the same refrain: 'Verba autem hec fideles deuoto cordis affectu percipiant, quoniam per illum qui primus et nouissimus est ad utilitatem credentium edita sunt'⁷ (Let the faithful receive these words in the devout affection of the heart, for they have been published for the use of believers through him who is the First and the Last). In all these contexts, *affectus* is used to qualify either devotion or its opposite, carnal affection. Elsewhere in the *Liber*, *affectus* has a more neutral meaning, but only as the past participle of *afficere*. In that case it can denote a person who is moved, affected, or afflicted by any cause, including negative emotions. For example, indiscreet asceticism is foolish because a body 'afflicted by toil and fatigue' ('labore et tedio affectum') will become rebellious.⁸ Perseverance in virtue is difficult because, after a period of good works, a person's thoughts may be affected by boredom ('tedio affecte') and turn to vanity.⁹

In several passages, Hildegard seems to consider the *affectūs animae* in the sense of 'dispositions' or 'feelings', which are mutable because they are so easily swayed by the state of the body. A closer examination, however, shows that all five of these usages occur in the *capitula*, or chapter summaries. As Nathaniel Campbell has demonstrated, these were almost certainly composed by a secretary who worked closely with

Hildegard in her last years—most likely her nephew Wezelin. The summarist, Campbell argues, took part in a concerted effort by the abbess and her collaborators ‘to make her dense visionary texts more accessible’ by couching her thought in a less eccentric vocabulary, glossing complex ideas with familiar and quasi-scholastic terms.¹⁰ Here is an example of his work:

Quia humores in homine etiam secundum modum complexionis quorundam animalium uel bestiarum nunc acrius, nunc lenius moueantur, et quod iuxta mutationem uel impulsionem eorundem humorum affectus et cogitationes in ipso, scilicet homine, frequenti alternatione uariantur.¹¹

That the humours in a person can also be stirred up—now more vigorously, now more gently—in accord with the temperament of certain animals or beasts; and that according to the changes and impulses of these humours, feelings and thoughts in that person can vary with frequent alternation.

The context of this humoral psychology is a set of elaborate correspondences between macrocosm and microcosm. In one application, Hildegard explains, as her secretary puts it:

Quibus ex causis et lacrimae de humoribus corporis collectae ab oculis, et pluuie ab aquis inferioribus sursum tractae e nubibus defluant, et diligens horum secundum affectiones anime expressio.¹²

The reasons why tears (distilled from the bodily humours) fall from the eyes, and rain (drawn upward from the waters below) falls from the clouds; and a diligent exposition of these things in accord with the affections of the soul.

The chapter thus summarized begins with a physical analogy between rainfall and weeping, but devotes more space to a moral analysis that links tears with an awareness of sin, fear of the Lord, repentance, sighing, and a revival of good intentions in the soul, which ultimately revitalizes the body. These inner experiences are the *affectiones anime* named in shorthand by the summarist. Throughout Hildegard’s vision of macrocosm and microcosm, he refers to *diuersis anime affectibus* as a way to encapsulate her intricate linkages of physical phenomena in the cosmos with their equivalents in the human body, and the effects of both on the moral life of the soul. But she herself never uses *affectus* or *affectio* in this sense. In fact, Hildegard has no explicit theory of the emotions, even if her summarist—perhaps trained in the schools—was able to draw an implicit one out of her difficult prose.

Affectus, in short, is not a keyword for Hildegard. Just as she refused to sweeten her letters with the cosy formulas of the *ars dictaminis*, she

had no interest in a theory of emotions per se. Not only does she avoid the plural *affectūs*, she also eschews such potential synonyms as *passiones* or *motūs animae*. (*Passiones* in her lexicon always denote physical pains.) To be sure, terms that we might consider emotion words, such as *amor*, *timor*, *ira*, *desiderium*, *tristitia*, and *gaudium*, occur frequently. But she is not concerned with such qualities as ‘feelings’ or neutral dispositions of the soul. Rather, they represent virtues and vices. The moral character of Hildegard’s psychology is clearly indicated by the qualifiers she supplies: *amor mundi*, *timor Domini*, *celestis desiderium*, *tristitia seculi*. In the lengthy third part of her *Sciuias*, a throng of virginal Virtues build up the Church or City of God, while in the *Ordo uirtutum* and *Liber uite meritorum*, they resist the Devil and personified Vices. If some of these moral abstractions sound to us more like emotions, it is not so for Hildegard. She recognizes, even emphasizes, that the *diuerse affectiones anime* (as her summarist calls them) are constantly changing, influenced as they are by the weather, phases of the moon, and a person’s age, gender, constitution, and state of health. Yet her views ultimately accord with the ancient adage: *sapiens dominabitur astris*—the wise, with the help of God’s grace, will prevail over the stars and all that they stand for. So, understanding the emotions as purely natural phenomena, though theoretically possible, pales before the ultimate goal—attaining that victory.

With the nuns of Helfta, we enter an altogether different world. Like Hildegard, Mechthild and Gertrude were German Benedictines, all three of them childhood oblates.¹³ Yet Hildegard, an heir to the twelfth century’s expansive cosmic thought and intellectual system-building, had a boundless curiosity about the world. Although God was her ultimate horizon both morally and scientifically, she was not among those who seek, in Augustine’s words, to ‘know nothing but God and the soul.’¹⁴ At Helfta, on the other hand, we find a more inward-looking mysticism. From the privileged confines of their cloister, these nuns look upward to heaven, not outward into the world. Writing in the last decade of the thirteenth century, they lived out the vibrant religious ideals of their own age—affective piety, affective community. It is no coincidence that this adjective has become shorthand for the entire devotional life of the late Middle Ages. Affectivity—the cultivation of tender, loving emotional states directed towards Christ, especially in his Nativity and Passion—is indeed a hallmark of the era, and the *Liber specialis gratiae* is among its high watermarks. Its lexicon brims with superlatives, especially *dulcissimus* (sweetest) and *dilectissimus* (most beloved). Those adjectives, together with every possible noun and verb for love, appear on each page. The nuns’ visionary record abounds in praise and blessing, gratitude and wonder, ineffable and inconceivable mysteries. *Affectus* occurs more than two dozen times—not nearly as often as *amor*, *dulcedo*, or *dilectio*, but enough to give the work a distinctive character.

As in Hildegard, *affectus* remains the standard term for affection. *Affectio* seems to appear only once, in a passage not without interest.¹⁵ Christ has promised to heal all Mechthild's sorrows, so she laments that she is not able to praise God as intensely or continually as she would like. He answers:

Quid est affectio divinae laudis, quam afflictio quaedam animae, cum nequaquam pro desiderio suo Deum collaudare valet? Similiter desiderium, devotio, oratio et omnis bona voluntas quam habet anima ad quaecumque perficienda bona, sunt quaedam contritiones animae, quas dum ego per meipsum suppleo, omnes ejus contritiones sano.

What is the affection of divine praise but a kind of affliction the soul feels when she cannot praise God to the full extent of her desire? In the same way, desire, devotion, and prayer, as well as every good intention the soul has to achieve a good work, are the broken places in that soul. When I supply her deficiency with my own self, I heal all her brokenness.¹⁶

In this unusual passage, holy intentions such as divine praise, desire for God, devotion, prayer, and moral resolutions are lumped together as the soul's *contritiones*—sorrows or, perhaps better, 'broken places.' The nuns were probably recalling Psalm 50:19: 'Cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicias' (A broken and humbled heart, O God, you will not despise). In pursuing her devout intentions, the soul discovers her brokenness because she experiences a gap between her good will and what she can actually accomplish. *Affectio* and *afflictio* parallel *contritio*; all three rhyming words denote sorrows, but of a morally efficacious kind. Christ then reassures Mechthild with one of the most distinctive, optimistic tenets of Helfta's piety: he will accept the good intention in lieu of the deed and fill the gap—the broken place—with his own merits. This is the doctrine of *suppletio*, 'supplying' or making good, which is ubiquitous in the *Liber specialis gratiae*.

In contrast with *affectio*, *affectus* is not rare. Among the persons to whom the *Liber* ascribes this loving emotion are God, Christ, the Blessed Virgin, Mary Magdalene, the saints in heaven, 'all creatures', a devout soul, a mother, a child, the whole community of nuns, two individual nuns, a soul entering heaven, the Sacred Heart, and Mechthild herself (numerous times). As the Premonstratensian abbot wrote to Hildegard, 'caritas uera est affectuosa,' true charity is affectionate, making the soul cling to God and binding the hearts of the faithful in one. As if it were too weak to stand alone, *affectus* is intensified by such adjectives as *amantissimus*, *nimius*, *singularis*, *praecordialis*, *ardentioris*, *amplioris*, *praesuavis*, and *dulcissimus* (most loving, extreme, unique, heartfelt, more ardent, more ample, surpassingly sweet,

sweetest). In one of Mechthild's exempla, a child who adores his father will treasure even his tiniest gifts 'ex affectu quo ipsum diligit' (out of affectionate love, 4.32). God crowns each of his saints with infinite love, but shows a 'supremely loving, tender affection' ('tam amantissimum et blandissimum ... affectum') for virgins beyond all others (1.11). Mary Magdalene loved Christ so much that during his Passion, her heart was touched by extreme compassion ('nimio compassionis affectu'), the very sweetest love ('tam dulcissimum ... amoris affectum'), and a unique affection ('singulari affectu,' 1.25). In this chapter, *affectus* means both 'affection' and 'feeling' in general. God's dulcet words caress the blessed soul 'supra omnem maternum ... affectum' (beyond all maternal affection, 5.21). Mechthild languishes for her divine Beloved, whom she 'cherished with the most heartfelt affection' ('praecordialiter affectaret,' 2.35). In her adoration of the Virgin, she wishes in a rush of devotion that she had power over the hearts of all creatures, so as to greet her Lady 'ex affectu et viribus omnium' (with the affection and strength of them all, 1.26). Mechthild of Magdeburg, the famous beguine who ended her days at Helfta, dies and is welcomed to heaven 'nimio ... affectu' (with surpassing affection, 5.3) by a host of saints. At the funeral of a much-loved abbess, the sisters commend their desolation to God 'maternis affectibus' (with filial affection, 6.6). The departed abbess, meanwhile, has entered heaven where, beyond all mortal imagining, God's superabundant goodness fills her with 'beatitudinis affectu' (a feeling of ultimate bliss, 6.6).

These examples, chosen from many, show what 'affective community' meant for the nuns of Helfta. *Affectus* is especially prominent in the *Liber's* hagiographic coda, written by St Gertrude to commemorate her beloved mentor, Mechthild of Hackeborn. A topos of praise common at Helfta was to compare a blessed soul to all nine angelic orders, for a saint must share in the ministry of the angels, the contemplative peace of the thrones, the holy knowledge of the cherubim, the flaming love of the seraphim, and so forth. Mechthild, the *Liber* declares, is also like the choir of dominations:

Dominationibus insuper non incongrue associatur, quae domina affectuum et actuum suorum fuisse probatur: siquidem dominabatur omnibus affectibus suis ipsos in Deum dirigendo; dominabatur cordi, omni custodia illud servando.

She is aptly compared to the dominations because she had dominion over her own feelings and actions. Indeed, she had dominion over all her feelings, directing them toward God; dominion over her heart, keeping it in close custody.¹⁷

This is one of very few passages where we find the plural *affectūs*. The remark has an almost Stoic tinge: Mechthild was no longer the slave, but

the master or 'lady' of her own feelings ('domina affectuum ... suorum'). Having achieved the ethical goal of self-mastery, she directed every emotional impulse or *affectus* towards God. The language also resonates with the monastic ideal of custody of the heart, as taught by Evagrius Ponticus and Cassian.¹⁸

Book 7, a visionary account of Mechthild's lingering death, constitutes a miniature summa on *affectus*. The nun is described at the outset as 'affectuosa mater et praedulcis consolatrix omnium nostrum' (the affectionate mother and sweet comforter of us all, 7.1). Mechthild had never been abbess, a position held for 40 years by her sister Gertrude of Hackeborn (not to be confused with St Gertrude). Throughout her religious life, however, Mechthild had served as chantress and shared in the duties of governance unofficially. Abbess Gertrude had died in 1291, and her successor resigned because of poor health in 1298, shortly before Mechthild's final illness. So Helfta had no official leadership at this time, and the sisters turned to their beloved Mechthild to fill the vacuum. Knowing herself about to die, she commends the community to the Virgin to cherish with even greater affection ('in ampliore ... affectum,' 7.6). On her deathbed, Mechthild manages to convey her affectionate feelings even when she can no longer speak. As her sisters make their prayer requests,

quia non jam plus loqui poterat, dicebat secreta voce: 'Libenter', vel 'Eia'. Per quod satis indicabat quo affectu, quodcumque ab ipsa requirerent, Deo suo amatori commendaret. Ad postremum, cum nihil amplius dicere posset, sui tamen benignitatem praesuavis affectus, quo suas consorores et spirituales amicos amabat, cohibere nequivit; saepius enim oculos, manusque amorose supra se ad coelum intendebat et extendebat; per quod manifeste ostendebat suum ad Deum affectum pro illis, qui ipsi fuerant commendati.

because she was no longer able to speak, she said in a low voice, 'Gladly' or 'Ah'! In this way she showed how affectionately she would commend whatever they asked of her to God, her lover. After this, when she could say nothing more, she was still unable to restrain the kind, tender affection she felt for her religious sisters and spiritual friends. Often she raised her eyes and lovingly stretched her hands toward heaven, plainly showing God her affection for those who had been commended to her.¹⁹

This affectionate disposition is portrayed as an ideal both for sisters in general and for Mechthild's *de facto* leadership role. After her death, her glorified spirit appears several times to St Gertrude, her close friend and fellow visionary, so the *vita* continues postmortem. But now the role of *affectus* alters. Gertrude asks her departed sister to pray for her friends 'with the same loving affection she had for them in this life' ('eo affectu

quo ipsos dilexerat in hac vita,' 7.12), asking God to amend their faults. But now Mechthild demurs:

Ecce jam in luce veritatis tam perspicue agnosco quod omnis affectus meus, quem ad aliquem habere potui in terris, vix est quasi una gutta ad pelagus totius maris, respectu dulcissimi affectus illius, quo divinum Cor ineffabiliter afficitur erga illos.

In the light of truth, I now keenly recognize that all the affection I could have for anyone on earth is scarcely a drop in the ocean, compared to the sweetest affection that the divine heart ineffably feels for them.²⁰

Human affection pales before that of the Sacred Heart, with a surprising consequence. Mechthild in heaven sees that God, in his incomprehensible providence, actually prefers souls to retain their defects as a spur to humility and continuous moral effort. So she declines 'even with one tiny thought' ('nec uno vel minimo cogitatu') to will anything other than what God has already ordained. Mortal affection has reached its ultimate limit.

To conclude: the lexical meaning of *affectus* does not change between Hildegard and Helfta, but there is a considerable difference in the context and frequency of the term. Hildegard uses *affectus* sparingly, almost always in the context of devotion—whether sacramental participation or the reception she desires for her own works. Her reticence on this front stands in sharp contrast with her correspondents, who often use *affectus* in dictaminal greetings to establish intimacy between a letter writer and the reader. In another contrast, Hildegard's secretary designates emotions in general as *diuerse anime affectiones* (diverse affections of the soul), explaining that they are mutable because the soul is constantly affected (*affecta*) by changes in the balance of humours, due to physical alterations in the body and the wider world. This theory of emotions is implicit throughout the *Liber diuinorum operum*, but Hildegard never spells it out explicitly, as her summarist does in his *capitula*.

A century later, Hildegard's world has vanished: no one any longer combines prophetic, visionary writing with scientific speculation about the cosmos, as she did. By the 1290s, scientific writing had become entirely the domain of the schools, while affective piety dominated the spiritual life of both monastics and laity. That term has become something of a cliché, but its meaning is beautifully embodied in the mystical writings from Helfta. The elite Saxon nunnery, which boasted three literary mystics—the former beguine Mechthild of Magdeburg, the chantress Mechthild of Hackeborn, and her disciple St Gertrude—produced an astonishing corpus of Latin writings at a time when most religious women read and wrote only in the vernacular. In the *Liber specialis gratiae*, the nuns use *affectio* only once. Typically for this spiritually

ambitious community, it denotes a benign affliction of the soul that longs to praise God more and accomplish more good works than it actually can. *Affectus*, on the other hand, commonly designates the warm mutual friendship that binds the sisters to one another, to God, and to the saints in heaven, marking Helfta as a truly affective community. The sisters portray Mechthild of Hackeborn, the heroine of the *Liber*, as especially lovable because of her affectionate character. At the same time, she demonstrates mastery over her feelings or emotions (*affectūs*) by directing them all towards God. The remaining essays in this volume will reveal the future that each of these linguistic tendencies would have.

Notes

- 1 On the authorship, character, and manuscripts of these works, see the Introduction to Mechthild of Hackeborn and the nuns of Helfta, *The Book of Special Grace*, trans. Barbara Newman (New York: Paulist, 2017).
- 2 Not all the letters in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 197, are included in the critical edition: Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium*, ed. Lieven Van Acker and Monika Klaes-Hachmöller. CCCM 91–91b (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991–2001). On the difficult problems of authenticity and attribution, see the two-part article by Van Acker, ‘Der Briefwechsel der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen: Vorbemerkungen zu einer kritischen Edition,’ *Revue bénédictine* 98 (1988): 141–168, and 99 (1989): 118–154; and John Van Engen, ‘Letters and the Public *Persona* of Hildegard,’ in *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 375–418.
- 3 On dictaminal greeting styles, see Carol D. Lanham, *Salutatio Formulas in Latin Letters to 1200: Syntax, Style, and Theory* (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1975).
- 4 Numbers cited are from Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium*. The five correspondents are Bernard of Clairvaux; Conrad, abbot of Kaisheim; the abbess of St Ursula in Cologne; the abbess of Obermünster in Regensburg; and an unidentified abbot, perhaps from Rothenkirchen. All translations in the essay are my own.
- 5 Epistle 230 from H., a prelate in Wadgassen, *Epistolarium*. CCCM 91a: 505–506.
- 6 Hildegardis, *Sciuias*, ed. Adelgundis Führkötter and Angela Carlevaris. CCCM 43–43a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978). The four passages cited are II.3.31, 154; II.6.27, 256; II.6.85, 296; and II.6.63, 282.
- 7 Hildegardis Bingensis, *Liber diuinorum operum*, ed. Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke. CCCM 92 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 352, 378, 385, 405, and 463.
- 8 Ibid. I.2.35, 102.
- 9 Ibid. I.3.9, 126.
- 10 Nathaniel M. Campbell, ‘The Authorship and Function of the Chapter Summaries to Hildegard of Bingen’s *Liber diuinorum operum*,’ *Journal of Medieval Latin* 27 (2017): 69–106, at 103.
- 11 *Liber diuinorum operum*, cap. I.3.9, 10.
- 12 Ibid., cap. I.4.32, 16.
- 13 During the 1290s when the *Liber specialis gratiae* was being written, the nuns wore the Cistercian habit and answered to Dominican confessors,

- but the Benedictine Rule defined their religious identity. The *Liber* names St Benedict as the father of their order (1.13, 6.6), which ‘sustains the Church like a pillar that supports the whole house’ (1.28): see *Liber specialis gratiae*, in *Revelationes Gertrudianae ac Mechtildianae*, ed. Louis Paquelin and the monks of Solesmes, 2 vols (Poitiers and Paris: Oudin, 1877), 2:1–421.
- 14 Augustine of Hippo, *Soliloquia* 1.2.7 (PL 32: 872): ‘[Augustinus]: Deum et animam scire cupio. [Ratio]: Nihilne plus? [Aug]: Nihil omnino.’
- 15 I have been unable to do a definitive search because the rare Latin edition is not included in any database. I have instead searched my translation and worked backwards to the Latin text.
- 16 *Liber specialis gratiae*, 1.9, 29; *Book of Special Grace*, 53.
- 17 *Liber*, 5.30, 368; *Book*, 223.
- 18 The ultimate source is Prov. 4:23: ‘Omni custodia serva cor tuum, Quia ex ipso vita procedit.’
- 19 *Liber*, 7.7, 398; *Book*, 229.
- 20 *Liber*, 7.12, 407; *Book*, 235–236.

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9 Affect, Affections, and Spiritual Capital in the Thirteenth Century

Tomas Zahora

In hoc autem transitu si sit perfectus oportet quod relinquantur omnes intellectuales operationes et apex affectus totus transferatur et transformetur in deum. Hoc autem est mysticum et secretissimum...¹

[In this passage, if it is perfect, it is appropriate that all intellectual operations are left behind, and the entirety of the summit of affect is transferred and transformed into God. This, however, is mystical and most secret.²]

Chapter 7 of Bonaventure's *Journey of the Mind to God* offers a striking image of the spiritual process. After progressing through six stages, during which the soul abandons earth-bound perception, it enters a seventh stage of mystical contemplation and insight beyond the limits of human intellect. This turn to the affective represents what historians have identified as a particularly Franciscan contribution to the vibrant religious discourse of the thirteenth century. Its 'affective thrust,' in the words of Heiko Oberman, was so influential that 'that when the later Middle Ages are viewed as a whole, they can be called the Franciscan Middle Ages.'³

Yet the passage also highlights several unresolved issues relevant to the history of affect and the emotions. One cluster of issues is directly related to affective frameworks and vocabulary. Despite Oberman's confirmation of the importance of Franciscan affectivity, medieval scholarship of the affective domain tends to be focused on a Dominican: Bonaventure's (1221–1274) contemporary Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), whose treatment of the passions of the soul in the *Summa theologiae* is among the most sophisticated and approachable works on the subject. Partly thanks to the systematic nature of Aquinas's thought, and partly to historians' interest in the emotions, much of the relevant literature deals with 'passions' and 'affections' rather than 'affect,' which is much more diffuse and ambivalent as a concept.⁴ Sometimes, the terms *passio*, *affectio*, and *affectus* are conflated as near-synonymous: even English translations of Bonaventure's *Journey* sometimes render *affectus* as 'affect' and other times as 'affection.'⁵ Only recently have studies begun to distinguish between the different meanings attached to these terms by medieval and early modern writers.⁶

The second cluster of issues pertains to the broader politics of affectivity. Although Bonaventure, building on Francis's ambivalence towards intellectual endeavour, suggests that deep contemplation means leaving intellectual operations behind, he and his confreres participated in a process that led to the opposite effect. As Neslihan Şenocak has pointed out, Franciscans developed a sophisticated discourse that not only made a case for intellectual striving, but also justified an elite class of brothers whose authority and status depended on their high educational and intellectual achievement.⁷ Could a similar process have taken place with respect to affect? Is it possible that the secrecy of the mystical act is a sleight-of-hand for social stratification in which affective achievement parallels that of the intellect? Monique Scheer's research, building on Bourdieu, implies that such an act is possible.⁸ A similar direction is offered by affect theory, which recognizes affect's visceral power and ability to bypass conscious control:

Affect, at its most anthropomorphic, is the name we give to those forces—visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally *other than* conscious knowing, vital forces insisting beyond emotion—that can serve to drive us toward movement, toward thought and extension...⁹

A better understanding of medieval *affectus* should thus enrich the discussion and help update the chronology of affect theory, which, following Deleuze, tends not to explore periods before the life of Spinoza.¹⁰

This chapter explores the issues outlined earlier through the works of two major thirteenth-century figures, Bonaventure and David of Augsburg (d. 1272), by asking three questions. First, are affect (*affectus*) and affection (*affectio*) as used by thirteenth-century Franciscans different concepts, and, if so, what do they refer to and what is their relationship? Second, does this concept of affect allow for a symbolic economy similar to that applied to the passions? Third, is this affect compatible with the word 'affect' as used in affect theory?

Affects and Affections in the Thirteenth Century

The Late Middle Ages witnessed an intensive development of language and discussions relevant to the history of emotions and affectivity.¹¹ A catalyst of lasting importance for these debates was a constellation of newly available works on the soul by Aristotle, Avicenna, John Damascene, and Averroes, which introduced an extensive vocabulary and an expanded number of *passiones* and *affectiones*. These works, together with syntheses by scholars like John of La Rochelle, had an important influence on Thomas Aquinas who incorporated them into his broader didactic program. A sizeable portion of Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*—questions 22–48 of the *Prima secundae*—is dedicated to a detailed description of the passions that provided a solid foundation for his contemporaries as much as for historians of the emotions.¹²

But the attention paid to Aquinas comes at a cost: it privileges *passiones* or *affectiones*, rather than the more nebulous concept of *affectus*, which was of such importance for Franciscan thinkers like Bonaventure. Prior to the dissemination of Aristotle's and Avicenna's writings on the soul, discussions of *affectus* drew on a tradition that scholars have called Augustinian, in which the heart is associated with the will and the mind with rational or intellectual capacity.¹³ *Affectus* in this sense does not primarily refer to an 'emotion' but rather to a motive or a disposition that accompanies acting according to one's will. For Bernard of Clairvaux and Isaac of Stella, as well as for Peter Abelard, the connection between will and *affectus* is so strong the two terms can be used interchangeably.¹⁴ The same alignment is used by Peter Lombard, who distinguishes different aspects of *affectus* according to the different dimensions relevant to human will: *affectus rationis*, *affectus mentis*, and *affectus sensualitatis*.¹⁵

Affectus and *affectio* in Bonaventure's *Journey*

Franciscan scholars like Bonaventure and David of Augsburg did not compose specific tracts on the passions. While they were aware of the concept of *affectio* or *passio*, when their theology is called affective, it is in the sense that it 'perfects the intellect as it is extended *ad affectum*.'¹⁶ In this respect, Bonaventure was influenced by Albert the Great, whose framing of theology along the lines of piety was among his major contributions.¹⁷ Albert also provided the blueprint for subsequent debates on the affective or experiential nature of theology.¹⁸ Like Albert, who concluded that theology was an affective science due to its transformative nature, Bonaventure placed a strong focus on its affective nature. This is particularly apparent in the *Journey*, where Bonaventure encourages the reader to pay more attention to the exercise of the affect than the erudition of the intellect.¹⁹ The *Journey* also encapsulates Bonaventure's three-stage approach to spiritual development, at the core of which is the idea of restoring the human being and straightening the affect, which is 'bent and mercenary.'²⁰ First one corrects (*rectificare*) one's fallen nature through discipline and virtuous practice, then sets one's powers free (*expedire*) through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and finally completes the journey (*perficere*) by an experience of joy, repose, and eventually a state of happiness or blessedness.²¹

As Bonaventure notes in *Journey's* prologue, he received the idea for composing the treatise after experiencing a miraculous vision at Mount Alverna in 1259, the place where St Francis had received a similar vision together with his stigmata.²² Like Francis, Bonaventure saw a six-winged Seraph on a cross. The angel's six wings correspond to six steps of a spiritual journey: a doubling of the threefold *rectificare*, *expedire*, *perficere* process, with an added seventh stage of perfection.²³

The *Journey* ends in the description of a mystical state in which physicality, including the intellect, which connects creation with the creator,

is left behind. Yet although Bonaventure refers to joy and desire, the word *affectio* is mentioned only once, when he describes the height of contemplation.²⁴ The word *passio* is likewise used only twice, and only in the context of the Passion of Christ.²⁵ And although Bonaventure introduces several frameworks of the powers of the soul, none of them mentions passions or affections explicitly.²⁶

What we do find instead is a powerful nexus of will, desire, and enjoyment, to which the *affectiones* are connected. This is not ‘emotional’ in the sense of offering a framework of affections or passions. Building on the sense of *affectus* indicated by Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Lombard, Bonaventure appears to point to the very foundation of human desire that guides the willingness to participate in spiritual life. One will not be disposed to the divine contemplations, he writes, unless he is like Daniel, a man of desires.²⁷ But while these desires are intensely sensual, they are experienced through senses that have been purified through discipline to such an extent that they no longer communicate with the tangible macrocosm but direct the soul’s eye directly to its source. In this way, the spiritual tasting of which he writes ‘occurs in affective experience rather than in rational consideration’ (‘... magis est in experientia affectuali quam in consideratione rationali.’)²⁸

David of Augsburg’s *De exterioris et interioris compositione hominis: affectio, affectus, and Spiritual Capital*

As Bert Roest notes, Franciscan affective theology did not flourish in the universities, which preferred ‘rigorous and formalised study of doctrine,’ and instead found fertile ground in the para-academic environment in proximity to Franciscan houses.²⁹ An excellent source of this perspective is the training manual *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* by David of Augsburg.³⁰ The treatise is composed of three works, each corresponding to a stage in the spiritual development: novices, friars who have passed probationary period (*proficientes*), and spiritually advanced friars (*perfectes*). The manual is so consistent theologically with Bonaventure’s theological and mystical writings that it has been previously considered among his works. Its similarity with Bonaventure’s theology and its popularity (the Quaracchi edition lists 370 full or partial extant manuscripts of the work) means that it offers a useful access point to the milieu in which Bonaventure’s affective theology was created and applied.³¹

David likens spiritual endeavour to a craft whose object is to bring one as close as possible to the knowledge and experience of God. ‘Just as the artisan operates through the instrument of his art, so virtue is learned by steps through corporal exercises and turned into habit.’³² Each step must be achieved before attempting the next one. ‘It is impossible,’ David writes, ‘for someone to fully learn some art if he is not willing to observe

or uphold its rules, and one cannot be made spiritual if he is not willing to *walk with the spirit* [Gal. 5.16].³³

To this end, David identifies a cluster of instruments of virtue (*instrumenta virtutum*) that together contributes to spiritual progress.³⁴ In a broad sense, these instruments are physical behaviour and habits, cognitive processes (*cogitationes mentis*), affections of the soul (*mentis affectiones*), and affects and inclinations of the will (*affectiones, voluntates*). The lowest, bodily exercises and control of outward expressions of behaviour are essential, yet in themselves only the foundation of actual spiritual progress, whose instruments can be classified according to three aspects of the soul: reason, will, and memory.

David's schema of spiritual progress mirrors Bonaventure's three stages of *rectificare*, *expedire*, and *perficere*, with an added division according to the faculties of reason, will, and memory. The faculty of reason develops from basic comprehension and acceptance, through understanding, to transcendence; the faculty of will from fighting vices, through ordering the affections, to being filled and inebriated with love; and the faculty of memory from repetition, through disciplined rumination, to forgetting of everything but God (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1 The threefold schema of spiritual progress in David of Augsburg's *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*, 2.7–9, 89–91

	<i>Ratio</i>	<i>Voluntas</i>	<i>Memoria</i>
Initium (incipiens, animalis)	Holding on to faith	Resisting vices from ascending in a good will	Returning the mind from wandering to the memory of God by repeated thinking, praying, and reading
Profectio (proficiens, rationalis)	Understanding to some extent the underlying reasons of faith through divine illumination	Ordering all affections and forming them into virtues without rebellion or constraint	Being fully engaged in good meditations and prayers without importunate wandering, having command of one's heart
Perfectio (perfectus, spiritualis)	Being seized beyond oneself through an excess of the mind, not through obscure corporeal similarities nor through arguments of reasoning	Being one spirit with God through love so that one cannot will anything but God, and being inebriated with the agreeableness of his sweetness	Being so absorbed in God through an excess of the mind as to forget oneself and all things, and resting pleasantly in God alone without any disturbance of winding cogitations and images

David does not use the term *passio* extensively but deploys *affectus* and *affectio* instead.³⁵ He recognizes seven affections (*affectiones*): three (hope, joy, and love) to grasp good, and four (fear, sadness, hatred, and shame) to flee evil (3.28, 215). They have been given to humans as an aid to flee evil and grasp good (3.27, 215). But in their present form they can turn towards both good and evil (2.9, 91)—they are, in fact, mutated into vice (2.14, 103) and need to be reformed. When one fights vice, according to David, one is in fact restoring them to their original state (2.17, 104), and affections ordered to their proper ends are a sure sign of virtue (1.25, 34).

Our corrupted affections, like our thoughts, are not something imposed from outside: just as thoughts are produced by the mind, so affections are the product of the body engaging with the internal and external worlds. Like thoughts, affections can be quite powerful. David likens disturbing affections to a domestic enemy (2.50, 158), a self-generated force strong enough to move the mind towards good or bad things (3.70, 377). Also, like thoughts, affections can also be paid attention to, developed, redirected, suppressed, or ignored. Once properly aligned, they can be used as a springboard for devotional practice, with the ultimate goal of transforming them. Based on the seven affections, David identifies seven kinds of devotions, each of which begins with a particular affection, for example, with fearing the loss of God (3.65, 351). In the highest state of contemplation, when the spirit is drunk with the taste of God, ‘they can be made divine, whose power is stronger, even as human affections still prevail...’ (3.64, 349).

While the word *affectio* shares similarities with Aquinas’s *passio*, the term *affectus* refers to a different concept, one consistent with the *affectus-voluntas* nexus of Bernard and Peter Lombard. In the threefold division of the powers of the soul into reason, memory, and will, affect belongs under (and is sometimes equated with) will (3.57, 320; 3.63, 346). Where memory adheres to things, intellect enlightens them, affect takes pleasure and tastes—it is thus an experiential rather than analytical or rational ability.

Whereas affection is produced by the mind in response to a stimulus or a thought, affect (*affectus*) is something connected to action. This action can involve gestures, rituals, and thoughts, as well as actions directed towards an appropriate goal over time. The affect of devotion, for instance, can be achieved by prayer and meditation combined with standing up or genuflecting, until vain thoughts leave the mind (1.4, 7). It is also stimulated by performing divine office and reading the Scripture (1.21, 28). On the other hand, some activities, like paying attention to rumours, giving oneself over to scurrilous laughter, or incautious familiarity with women, dissolve proper *affectus* (1.30, 40; 2.2, 76). When one’s affect cools, it can become entirely frigid, and one’s works, no matter how virtuous in theory, do not result in virtue (1.33, 45).

The movement of affect is thus twofold. When directed towards a sanctioned goal, it results in virtue; when misdirected, in vice. Accordingly, David's list of affects corresponds to the vices and virtues to which they tend: he describes an affect of pride, envy, anger, but also an affect of love, hope, and fear (in the sense of the virtue of awe) (2.17–23, 104–109). Identifying one's affects is an important step towards their transformation. A negative affect can be counterbalanced by the application of a positive one. A positive affect can be developed to perfection, when 'the intellect rises above, affect inflamed by devotion tastes how sweet is the Lord, infused with the movement of sacred prayer.'³⁶

Like habits, affects are strengthened by practice. The more one progresses in the practice of virtue, the stronger the affect, until the two become one and the soul 'is agitated by such affect towards God that it cannot imagine living without him' (3.33, 227). A perfected affect is richly rewarded by love and experience of delight:

as if in remuneration or relief for the labour exerted through practice, grace soothes one's affect with its sweetness and awakens it as a consolation, so that now one desires good and enacts it with the sweat of labour not only by the instigation of reason, but chooses so from desire, and loves and embraces it from affect, and hates, is horrified by, and flees the contrary, that is, evil.

[quasi pro remuneratione vel relevatione laboris ex usu exercitii suscitatur etiam ei affectus in solatium a gratia demulcente sua dulcedine affectum, ut iam non tantum ex instinctu rationis velit bonum et cum conatu laboris illud agat, sed etiam ex desiderio optet et ex affectu amplectatur et diligat et contrarium illi odiat et horreat et fugiat, id est malum (3.31, 224–5)].

David's description of affect at the height of perfection, which can be briefly glimpsed and tasted even in this life, most approximates the final stages of progress in the *Journey*: as in Bonaventure, one's love is liquefied and becomes one with God, and all the soul's powers become focused and settled on one supreme good.³⁷

David's *De compositione* also offers a perspective on the 'mystical and most secret' process of leaving the intellect behind. To David, as to Bonaventure, the threefold distinction of reason, will, and memory is a direct analogue of the Trinity—and thus no one aspect can exist in separation from others but is always interconnected. Where Bonaventure's 'intellectual operations' are abandoned is not so much in their validity or ability to elucidate the truth, but in their ability to move the soul.³⁸ Reason can point the way and show the map, but it is the will and *affectus* that make it walk and experience participation in the divine through taste and spiritual enjoyment.

The process is not accessible to everyone, though. The threefold schema of spiritual development comprises a method of professional gatekeeping. One may not rise to the higher level unless one satisfactorily passes the lower ones. Beginners, not yet sufficiently trained in applying reason, must hold to faith, repeat authoritative statements and texts, and train their minds to be receptive to proper understanding. Intermediate students continue their discipline with the added faculty of reason. Only the most advanced students are able to see things that are hidden from others, understand things they had previously done through imposed discipline, and perceive heavenly secrets. Perfecting one's affect may require grace, but as described by David, it also implies access to significant material and communal resources. Its framing in terms of a craft and a habit makes it entirely consistent with the formation of social capital as described by Scheer. In this sense, David's spiritual programme also appears to parallel the development identified by Şenocak, who pointed out the emergence of an intellectual elite in the Franciscan order that invented a way of incorporating social stratification into a discourse of simplicity and poverty.

Yet while David's program seems overall to support such stratification, he also subtly undermines it—perhaps precisely because affect is *not* the intellect. As he points out, those not capable of deep intellectual insight can reach the heights of contemplation indicated by Bonaventure as much as the more erudite brothers. In fact, they can do so more successfully, because

the simple devout see the truth more clearly in itself and know how to think about it, consider its weight, and examine its pulse more deeply through the tasting of the affect, and perceive the rays of pure intelligence more clearly than those who are tied in the conjectures of argumentation (3.65, 355).

Conclusion

In answer to the first question, we can conclude that *affectus* and *affectio* as used by thirteenth-century Franciscans are distinctly *not* the same thing. While *affectio* is an aspect of the soul consistent with the term *passio* as discussed by Thomas Aquinas, and referred to in the historiography of the emotions, *affectus* refers to an internal movement attached to the will, which underlies or motivates a morally relevant action.

Second, because the development of *affectus* depends on a difficult and time-consuming process of habituation, overseen by a master, it is consistent with the Bourdieuan construct of habitus referred to by Scheer, and allows for the justification of a spiritual elite parallel to the intellectual elite explored by Şenocak, in which Bonaventure features prominently.

Finally, while the present chapter is limited in scope, the material so far confirms that the Franciscan *affectus*, in its beyond-emotionality and connection to movement, is not entirely dissimilar to the modern concept of affect—the ‘visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally *other than* conscious knowing, vital forces insisting beyond emotion—that can serve to drive us toward movement, toward thought and extension...’³⁹ It is quite likely that Spinoza, whom Deleuze used as the originator of the concept, in fact drew on an older tradition. In this sense, the present chapter confirms the observation by Champion et al. that a more thorough investigation of the rich medieval tradition of affectivity promises to uncover further continuities and transformations.⁴⁰

Notes

- 1 Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, in *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*, Vol. 5 (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1891), 7.4, 312.
- 2 Bonaventure, *The Mind’s Road to God*, trans. George Boas (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1953), Ch. 7, 44.
- 3 Heiko A. Oberman, ‘The Reorientation of the Fourteenth Century,’ in *Studi sul XIV secolo in memoria di Anneliese Maier*, ed. Alfonso Maierù and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Rome: Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 1982), 514.
- 4 *Emotion and Cognitive Life in Medieval and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Martin Pickavé and Lisa Shapiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); Martha C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- 5 In Hayes’ translation, *affectus* becomes ‘affect’ (41) but ‘affection’ on 99 and 137; in Cousins’ translation, it is ‘affection’ at 56 and 89, but *experientia affectualis* is translated as ‘affective experience.’
- 6 Michael Champion et al., ‘But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,’ *Rivista Storica Italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016): 521–543.
- 7 Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209–1310* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).
- 8 Monique Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,’ *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 193–220.
- 9 Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Greg, ‘An Inventory of Shimmers,’ in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 1.
- 10 Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy*, trans. Robert Hurley (San Francisco, CA: City Lights, 1988), 17–25, 125; Gregg and Seigworth, ‘An Inventory of Shimmers’; Megan Watkins, ‘Desiring Recognition, Accumulating Affect,’ in *The Affect Theory Reader*, 269–285.
- 11 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700*; Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*; *Emotions, Communities, and Difference in Medieval Europe. Essays in Honor*

- of Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed. Maureen C. Miller and Edward Wheatley (New York: Routledge, 2017); *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter / Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).
- 12 Robert Miner, *Thomas Aquinas on the Passions: A Study of Summa Theologiae Ia2ae 22–48* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Peter King, ‘Aquinas on the Emotions,’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas*, ed. Brian Davies and Eleonore Stump (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 209–226.
 - 13 Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 172–189.
 - 14 Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, sermo 42, par. 7, vol. 2, p. 37; Isaac de Stella, *Sermones*, SChr 339, sermo 46, par 10; Peter Abelard, *Commentaria in epistulam Pauli ad Romanos*, lib. 3, cap. 3. For a more extensive treatment of Isaac of Stella and Peter Abelard on this subject, see Chapters 5 and 7 in this volume
 - 15 Lombard, *Sententiae* lib. 3, dist. 17, cap. 2, par. 1.
 - 16 Gregory Lanave, ‘Bonaventure’s Theological Method,’ in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jay Hammond and Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 100.
 - 17 Albert the Great, *Summa de mirabili scientia Dei*, 1.1.5.1, 16; Walter Senner, ‘Theologia scientia affectiva oder scientia secundum pietatem bei Albertus Magnus—Alternative zur Dichotomie scientia theoretica aut practica?’ in *Handlung und Wissenschaft—Action and Science: Die Epistemologie der Praktischen Wissenschaften im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert—The Epistemology of the Practical Sciences in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, ed. Alexander Fidora and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 61–72.
 - 18 Henryk Anzulewics, ‘The Systematic Theology of Albert the Great,’ in *A Companion to Albert the Great: Theology, Philosophy, and the Sciences*, ed. Irvén Resnick (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 15–67; Mikolaj Olszewski, ‘The Nature of Theology According to Albert the Great,’ in *A Companion to Albert the Great*, 69–104.
 - 19 Bonaventure, *Itinerarium*, Prologue, 5, 296: ‘Rogo igitur, quod magis pensetur intentio scribentis, quam opus, magis dictorum sensus quam sermo incultus, magis veritas quam venustas, magis exercitatio affectus quam eruditio intellectus. Quod ut fiat, non est harum speculationum progressus perfunctorie transcurrendus, sed morosissime ruminandus.’
 - 20 ‘Affectus enim hominis recurvus est et mercenarius, quantum est de se; unde si quid facit, intendendo proprium commodum facit ...’ 2 Sent. 26.2 (II, 636a).
 - 21 Elizabeth Dreyer, ‘“Affectus” in St. Bonaventure’s Theology,’ *Franciscan Studies* 42 (1982): 11.
 - 22 Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, 13.3, in *Francis of Assisi—The Prophet: Early Documents*, Vol. 3, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 2001), 3: 632–33.
 - 23 *Itinerarium*, Prologue, 3.
 - 24 *Itinerarium*, 7.5.
 - 25 *Itinerarium*, Prologue, 3.
 - 26 A diagram of the *Journey* and its mapping of the powers of the soul can be found at www.academia.edu/16922033/Diagram_of_Bonaventures_Itinerarium.
 - 27 *Itinerarium*, Prologue, 3.
 - 28 *Itinerarium* 4.3; Ann W. Astell, ‘A Discerning Smell: Olfaction among the Senses in St. Bonaventure’s *Long Life of St. Francis*,’ *Franciscan Studies* 67 (2009): 91–131.

- 29 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, 195.
- 30 David of Augsburg, *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1899) (hereafter, *De compositione*); Domenico Pezzini, 'La tradizione manoscritta inglese del *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* di Davide d'Augusta,' in *Editori de Quaracchi 100 anni dopo. Bilancio e prospettive*, ed. Alvaro Cacciotti and Barbara Faes de Mottoni (Rome: PAA/Edizioni Antonianum, 1997), 251–259; Crispinus Smits, 'David van Augsburg en de invloed van zijn Profectus op de moderne devotie,' *Collectanea Franciscana Neerlandica* 1 (1929):171–03.
- 31 David of Augsburg, *De compositione*, ix–xxxvii.
- 32 *De compositione*, 2.5, 87: 'Sicut artifex per instrumentum artis suae operatur, ita virtus per corporalia exercitia addiscitur et in habitum vertitur; et quanto quis aptiora instrumenta habet, si bene eis utitur, tanto citius et melius perficit opus, quod desiderat consummare.' See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Terence Irwin (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1985), 2.1, 34.
- 33 *De compositione*, 2.3, 83: 'Impossibile namque est, quemquam aliquam artem plene addiscerem qui regulas eius non vult attendere vel tenere; nec spiritualis fieri poterit qui non vult spiritu ambulare.'
- 34 *De compositione*, 2.2, 72.
- 35 David uses the word *passio* in the negative sense, consistent with Stoic approach to the passions (*De compositione*, 2.39, 252), and passages such as his description of magnanimity (2.39, 251: 'Magnanimus enim est, qui ad universa sustinenda patiens est nullisque passionibus perturbator'), which he borrows from a tradition drawing on Isidore's *Etymologies* ('Longanimis, siue magnanimis, eo quod nullis passionibus perturbatur sed ad universa sustinenda patiens est,' lib. 10, para. 157).
- 36 *De compositione*, 3.54, 320: '... intellectus sursum tendat, affectus per devotionem inflammatus gustet, quam suavis est Dominus, ex intentione sacrae orationis afflatus.'
- 37 *De compositione*, 3.62, 338.
- 38 See note 1 above.
- 39 Seigworth and Gregg, 'An Inventory of Shimmers,' 1.
- 40 Champion, et al., 'But were they talking about emotions?'

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10 *Affectus* and *passio* in the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas

Robert C. Miner

Thomas Aquinas is known for his treatment of the passions at *Summa theologiae* 1–2.22–48. The *Summa* also speaks of *affectūs* and *affectiones*. To what do these terms refer? How are their referents related to *passiones*? These questions require close attention to three cases: divine, angelic, and human. In the human case, imposing a sharp *affectus/passio* distinction on the *Summa* is a mistake. It arises, I show, from insufficient appreciation of the difference between angels and embodied intellects.

Affectus in God

Within the *Summa*, *affectus* appears early in the *prima pars*, ascribed to God on the strict condition that one does not confuse it with anything corporeal. Though Scripture uses bodily language to speak of God, it does so by handing down spiritual things under the likeness of bodies. Thus, when Scripture speaks of God's 'wideness,' what it intends to signify is not a physical magnitude but God's '*affectus* of love toward all things' (1.3.1 ad 1).¹ The association of *affectus* with love near the beginning of *Summa* 1 is hardly accidental. It determines the primal meaning of *affectus*—the appetite's bent towards the good. As such, *affectus* appears to be a near-synonym for *voluntas*, whose object is the good (*bonum*)—and so the appetitive counterpart to *intellectus*, whose object is the true (*verum*). Sometimes, Thomas uses the term in just this way, as when he describes one effect of grace as the illumination of *intellectus*, and another as the inflammation of *affectus* (1.43.5 ad 2).

More typically, however, Thomas uses *affectus* not precisely as a synonym for the will, but as a term that picks out one of its acts. In this way, love is an *affectus* in God, the 'first motion of the will and of every appetitive power' (1.20.1 co.). Love is the first *affectus* in God, but not the only one. Others can also be attributed to God, namely, joy and mercy. But how can any such attribution be accommodated to divine simplicity?

Thomas is acutely aware of the issue, as attested by the fact that *affectus* first occurs within the question on divine simplicity. If the real existence of multiple affects in God is incompatible with divine simplicity,

why does Thomas write in a way that attributes multiple affects to God? Two answers can be given, neither of which excludes the other. The first is to read the attribution of plural affects to God under the sign of an important caution that pervades Thomas's thinking. Our human manner of signifying, multiple and fragmented, must not be confused with the thing signified, unified and one. Although we habitually speak as though God were a being with distinct attributes, no real distinction between God and his attributes can be sustained. Even as we use a plurality of terms when speaking of the divine—and we cannot avoid speaking thus, unless we opt for silence—that of which we speak (or chant or stammer: 1.4.1 ad 1) is itself one. God's *affectus* of love is not something that exists in addition to God's being. On the contrary, divine being and the *affectus* of love are inseparable. God is love.²

A second approach to the problem is to consider the relation between the *affectūs* that human discourse ascribes to God. Love is primary since 'nobody desires something, unless it is a good that is loved, nor does someone rejoice, except over a good that is loved' (1.20.1 co.). In the human case, a clear distinction exists between love and joy. Love regards good in general, whereas joy concerns good under a 'special condition,' as present and possessed. But no good is absent to God, because God is not 'an intellectual being' or 'moral agent' who strives towards some good outside himself, a good that he desires but does not yet have. There cannot, therefore, be in God any real distinction between one *affectus* called 'love' and another *affectus* called 'joy.' The general and the special conditions necessarily coincide. It remains, however, that in human discourse the expressions 'God loves' and 'God rejoices' take different senses.³ But here we encounter the gap between our mode of signifying and the thing signified. Any *affectus* in God can be traced back to the prime analogate of love, which itself is another name for divine being, one and simple.

God's single *affectus*, the bent towards good, is refracted by human language into the plural affects of love, joy, and mercy. Thomas associates these affects with divine will, but not because he imagines there to be any real distinction between God's will and God's intellect. His point is that divine *affectus* is active rather than passive. In human beings, there are multiple *passiones*—'joy, love, and the like' (1.20 pr.). Applied to God, these cannot be names of passions—motions of sensitive appetite that entail an 'accompanying bodily change' (1.20 ad 1). For a passion to be aroused, the sensitive appetite must be acted upon. But God is not acted upon; God is pure act.

Does the purely active character of divine affects hold across the board for *affectus*? If so, one might suppose that any occurrence of *affectus* in the *Summa* names something wholly active, with no room for passivity. But Thomas's usage is more complex than that. When Thomas says that mercy is not ascribed to God 'as an *affectus* belonging to

passion' ('secundum passionis affectum': 1.21.3 co.), he opens the possibility of other *affectūs* that do 'belong to passion.' As said of human beings, *affectus* might include important connections to passivity that are necessarily excluded in the divine case. Moreover, while *affectūs* in God 'do not denote imperfection' (1.20.1 ad 2), those in others might. Connotations of pure activity or perfection cannot be imposed on *affectus* in general.

Before turning to *affectus* in angels and humans, one may ask whether Thomas attributes to God only *affectus*. What about *affectio* and *affectiones*? In *Summa* 1, Thomas seems to reserve *affectio* and *affectiones* for creatures: 'Spiritual creatures, with respect to *affectiones* and intelligible insights, in which there is succession, are measured by time. So Augustine says in the same place that to be moved by time, is to be moved by *affectiones*' (1.10.5 ad 1). To have an *affectio* implies one can be moved by the *affectio* (1.10.5 ad 1); Thomas speaks of angels as having *affectiones* (1.63 ad 1) and 'being affected' (*afficitur*, 1.63.2 co.). *Affectio* seems to name a state of being moved or affected, whether or not the bearer of the *affectio* has a body. If that is correct, *affectiones* would properly be said of angels (see 1.63.8 ad 1) and human beings, but improperly (if at all) about God.

Affectus in Angels

On the surface, the *affectūs* that Thomas ascribes to angels are identical to divine *affectūs*. Any affect of an angel is purely spiritual, occurring without a body. For an angel, *affectus* is active rather than passive, a 'simple act of will' (1.59.4 ad 2). Directly after the question on angelic will comes a question on angelic love, 'amor sive dilectio' (1.60 pr.), treated as angelic will's first act. One can hear the relation of *Summa* 1.59 and 1.60 as an echo of that between *Summa* 1.19 and 1.20.

In the face of these parallels, it would be easy to overlook differences between divine and angelic *affectūs*. But this would be a mistake. In God, love is directed either towards God or towards creatures, who are conceived as so many ways of imitating the divine essence (1.15.2 co.). In an angel, the *affectus* of love has a different orientation, being naturally directed to that which is infinitely higher than itself. Similarly, angelic joy differs from divine joy in that it can always be increased (see 1.62.9 ad 3).

If angelic *affectūs* differ more sharply from divine *affectus* than initial appearances would suggest, to what extent do they resemble human affections? Though angels do not exist in time, their affects exhibit the marks of changeability and succession, before and after. The point can be clearly seen in the *affectūs* of angels who fail to attain blessedness and so become fallen angels. Before an angel attains blessedness, it must choose. In the angelic case, there is but a single choice: either submit to

good higher than oneself or refuse submission. The choice does not take place in a vacuum, but in connection with a prior *affectus*. For one group of angels, the choice follows the *affectus* by which the will is directed towards God, loving what is better than itself. For angels who become *daemones*, however, another dynamic is at work.

Without pretending to grasp the *casus diaboli*, we may glance at the part of the story where *affectus* plays an important role:

Now in spiritual goods sin cannot exist when someone is moved (*afficitur*) toward them, except by the fact that in such an *affectus* the rule of the higher is not preserved. And this is the sin of pride (*superbia*)—not to be subjected to a higher to which subjection is owed.
(1.63.2 co.)

For the angel who chooses badly, something has gone wrong in the *affectus*—a perverse twisting, since by nature the *affectus* is directed towards what is higher. In some succession of affective states, the details of which remain dark to human knowing, the angel comes to will his own supremacy, and so irrevocably decides his eternal fate as a demon (1.64.2).

Pride leads to a second *affectus* in angels, envy. *Invidia* arises from seeing another's good as an obstacle to the good 'affectively desired' (*affectati*) by the evil angel, its 'singular excellence' whose 'singularity would cease by the excellence of another' (1.63.2 co.). Just as other *affectūs* in God and the good angels can be traced back to love of blessedness, so the affections of fallen angels can be traced back to love of a corrupted blessedness, misconstrued as 'singular excellence.'

Other *affectūs* follow closely upon pride and envy. *Dolor*, pain or sorrow, exists in demons as punishment ensuing upon bad choice (1.64.3). Some also speak of perverse joy in demons, along with fear of future evils. Thomas acknowledges, but does not emphasize these possibilities. Can fallen angels experience other *affectūs*? Insofar as any fallen angel persists in being, Thomas answers, he must to that extent be good. Therefore, he retains some trace of natural love (*dilectio*) for those who share his nature, even if that faint trace is overshadowed by hatred (1.60.4 ad 3). The narration of the angelic fall confirms the position of love as first among *affectūs*. Not even the power of the *daemones* can undo the primacy of love.

The *affectūs* that Thomas ascribes to fallen angels are familiar enough to human beings, who have their own experience of pride, envy, and sorrow. One might try for still greater connection, seeking consonances between angelic love and joy and their human counterparts. From Augustine, Thomas learns the possibility of an affinity between angelic *affectūs* and human affections which, to the extent they belong to the will, are incorporeal and thus distinct from *passiones*. But before we hastily assimilate human affects to angelic *affectūs*, we should note an important

discontinuity. Although blessed angels are finite and not *comprehensores* of the divine essence, they are equally not *viatores* (1.62.9 sc.): they are not progressing on the way; they make no journey in time. Precisely because angels are not wayfarers, their *affectūs* will lack certain features proper to the affections of the embodied intellect *in via*—the creature for whom a ‘longer way’ to blessedness is appropriate (1.62.5 ad 1). The implications of the angel/human contrast for Thomas’s thinking about the connection between *affectūs* and *passiones* are far-reaching.

Human *affectus* vs *passiones*: The *Summa*’s Simple Teaching

The *Summa* offers a simple teaching about the nature of *affectūs* in human beings. In the next section, I will demonstrate that the simple teaching is not equivalent to Thomas’s deepest teaching about human *affectus*. Indeed, it is antithetical to it. But before making such a bold claim, let us present the simple teaching.

In human beings, the teaching holds, *affectūs* are acts of the will. They are categorically distinct from passions, because they are located not in the sensitive appetite, but in the will or intellectual appetite. The simple teaching asserts a strong distinction between *affectūs* and *passiones*. For example, the *affectus* of *amor* is simply willing a good for another, followed by no motion of the sensitive appetite and involving no bodily change. Suppose I am your boss, with the power to give you a promotion. I judge that you deserve a promotion; consequently, I will that you receive one. Since I have willed the promotion with no accompanying motion of sensitive appetite, the *affectus* is not a passion. Moreover, the *affectus* can take the name of *dilectio*, distinguishing it from the passion of *amor* by denoting its close relation to choice (*electio*). What holds for love applies to other passions. For motions at the lower level of the sensitive appetite, there are analogues at the higher level of rational appetite.

That the simple teaching appears in the *Summa* is evident.⁴ It raises, however, at least three difficult questions that lead one to wonder whether Thomas intends it as a fragment—that is, as part of a more complete teaching. First, the teaching ascribes *affectūs* to the will alone. Can that ascription be anything more than a taxonomic device? If Thomas claims that *affectūs* such as love and joy belong solely to rational appetite, he cannot mean that what loves or rejoices is my will. On the contrary, it is *I* who love or rejoice, where ‘I’ denotes a unified substance, consisting of soul and body—as entailed by the treatment of the soul-body union at 1.75 and 1.76.⁵ If it is true that *I* rejoice, and *I* am essentially an embodied intellect, then any description of my *affectus* of joy that ignores the realities of embodiment is at best an abstraction. Perhaps the abstraction can be defended. But to the extent that it suggests that humans actually experience *affectūs* in a manner that has nothing to do with the body, it

is misleading. As an adequate guide to how things go for the embodied intellect, the simple teaching falls short.

There is a second problem. Taken without qualification, the simple teaching has the awkward consequence that *affectūs* as such cannot be felt. Human feeling requires sensation. But if *affectūs* are nothing but simple acts of intellectual appetite, they bear no relation to sensation and so cannot be felt. Perhaps this is appropriate for angels or God. But it is highly problematic for human beings whom Thomas understands not as intellects that happen to assume a body, but as creatures for whom embodiment is natural and essential. For rational animals, joys that exist solely on the intellectual plane and bear no relation to sensible feeling would be a poor substitute for joys that receive vibrant bodily expression. Such joys, even if their existence can be defended in the abstract, are a pale shadow of felt joys—their ghostly doubles. (And quite unlikely to survive their first encounter with Ockham's razor, though presumably they will not bleed, being purely intellectual and all.)

Finally, by emphasizing the placement of the *affectūs* within rational appetite, the simple teaching implies their superiority to mere passions. The passions are motions of the lower appetite, possessed by all beings with sensation, whereas *affectūs* of the higher appetite seem to indicate a closer kinship of humans with spiritual beings. They are equally 'attributed to God and angels, or to human beings according to intellectual appetite' (1-2.22.3 ad 3). For the simple teaching, the truly rational approach would be to cultivate the godlike *affectūs* and downplay the passions, which belong to a lower order. They are, as Thomas says, acts we have in common with other animals—decidedly ungodlike. What exactly is the problem with this implication of the simple teaching? For a convinced rationalist, there is no problem at all. The superiority of *affectūs* to *passiones* is a feature of Thomas's thinking, not a bug. But can a rationalist preference for intellectual *affectūs* to sensible *passiones* be reconciled with the account that Thomas actually gives? In what follows, I will show that it cannot.

Beyond the Simple Teaching: The Union of *affectūs* and *passiones* in the *Summa*

The simple teaching implies the clear superiority of intellectual *affectūs* to sensible *passiones* in human beings. To perceive Thomas's deep scepticism about the simple teaching, let us turn once again to *dilectio* and *amor*. In angels, there is no difference between *dilectio* and *amor*: the first act of will is 'amor sive dilectio' (1.60 pr.). In humans, however, the act of will is *dilectio*, whereas the passion of the sensitive appetite is *amor*. If the simple teaching were a reliable guide to Thomas's deepest thinking about embodied minds, *dilectio* would be superior to *amor*. But what does Thomas actually say?

At 1–2.26.3, Thomas rejects the possibility that *amor* and *dilectio* are different terms for the same thing. *Amor* is sensitive and *dilectio* rational, as the simple teaching holds. Thomas invokes the distinction in the argument *sed contra*, quoting a passage from Pseudo-Dionysius: ‘For certain saints, it seems that the name of *amor* is more divine than the name of *dilectio*’ (1–2.26.3 sc.). This text squarely contradicts the simple teaching’s assumption that *dilectio* is superior to *amor*. Unusually for the *Summa*, the Article includes a reply to the *sed contra*. A rationalist committed to the simple teaching would expect the reply not only to affirm the Pseudo-Dionysian text’s distinction between *amor* and *dilectio*, but also (and more urgently) to overturn its assumption that the former outranks the latter. But with respect to the latter point, Thomas takes pains to do precisely the opposite:

Some lay it down that even in the will itself, the name *amor* is more divine than the name *dilectio*, because *amor* denotes a certain passion chiefly according as it is in the sensitive appetite, whereas *dilectio* presupposes a rational judgment. The human being can better tend to God by *amor*, drawn passively in a certain way by God himself, than he can lead himself to God by his own reason, which belongs to the notion of *dilectio*, as said above. And on account of this, *amor* is more divine than *dilectio*.

(1–2.26.3 ad 4)

This passage is sufficient to show that for Thomas, purely intellectual *affectūs* are not necessarily superior to *passiones*. Furthermore, it generates the suspicion that such *affectūs* are highly questionable. I want to briefly articulate two versions of this suspicion—one moral, the other more radical. Both versions will help us understand why Thomas did not write anything that could be called (or even miscalled) a ‘treatise on the pure rational affections.’

To begin with the moral version of the suspicion: volitions that involve no passion may exist (1–2.10.3 ad 3). But such acts, though resembling *affectūs* in God and angels, are for human beings incomplete and defective. They are missing something that should be present, namely, the co-operation of the sensitive appetite. If an *affectus* of the will is to be fully itself—that is, completely good—it will naturally give rise to a motion of the sensitive appetite. This can happen, Thomas says, ‘in the manner of overflow (*per modum redundantiae*), since when the higher part of the soul is intensely moved toward something, its motion follows in the lower part’ (1–2.24.3 ad 1). The more intense the *affectus* of the rational appetite, the more likely the production of a passion in the sensitive appetite.

This interpretation moves beyond the simple teaching by suggesting that *affectūs* followed by *passiones* are superior to *affectūs* that have no

consequence for the sensitive appetite. Suppose the intellectual part of the soul rejoices in God, experiencing what Thomas calls ‘spiritual joy’ (2–2.28.1), but does so with no effect whatever upon the sensible part of the soul. Such ‘joy’ would testify to the utter lack of a practical relationship between the person’s intellect and will, on the one hand and his or her sensitive appetite on the other. This absence of a genuine relationship between higher and lower powers is something to be lamented. Any counsel to cultivate *affectūs* that are simply disconnected from passions would be a sad confusion of what is natural for angels with what is appropriate for embodied intellects. It would signify a failure to integrate powers that should be working in tandem, an incapacity for the ‘harmonious coordination of man’s powers in striving for the realization of his deepest spiritual potentialities.’⁶

The moral suspicion of the simple teaching goes far. But it may not go far enough. It leaves intact the possibility that *two* separate entities exist—an initial *affectus* of the will *and* a subsequent *passio* generated by the *affectus*, so that what originates as an *affectus* is somehow doubled or echoed by the *passio*. A more radical suspicion of the simple teaching would put just this possibility into question. Why grant the real existence of two separate entities, an *affectus* and its vivid double, the corresponding *passio*? Does not any such conception remain too dualistic? It suggests the presence of one thing—an *affectus* akin to a ‘soul-event’—which then under certain conditions (indicated obscurely by the metaphor of overflow) brings about something quite different—a *passio* akin to a ‘body-event.’ Even though the *passio* is the vivid double of the *affectus*, the fundamental issue is not whether the double is ghostly or vivid. The deeper issue concerns any dualism in these matters. Why posit two separate events, a soul-event and a body-event, related as cause and effect? Better to admit only a single motion, predicated of the soul/body composite—one that is both ‘sensibly intellectual’ and ‘intellectually sensible.’ As an interpretation of Thomas, a view of the *affectus/passio* relation that incorporates the ‘radical’ suspicion is preferable—not just because it evokes Montaigne more than Descartes, but also because it coheres better with the hylomorphic spirit (and letter) of Thomas’s texts.⁷

If the radical suspicion is well placed, there is in reality only a single unified act, even if that act can be analysed into intellectual and sensual components. What to call such an act? Is it an *affectus* or a *passio*? Thomas gives some justification for refusing to decide exclusively in favour of either. Mercy, he says, is not attributed to God ‘according to *affectus* belonging to passion’ (1.21.3 co.). But for the embodied intellect, in which all things spiritual are somehow related to the somatic, ‘*affectus* belonging to passion’ strikes the right note. If one attends to the act’s origin in rational apprehension, one can regard it as an *affectus*, distinct from passions that arise from sensitive apprehension. But if one

focuses on the ‘felt’ aspect of the motion—that is, the respect in which the *affectus* is appropriate to the embodied creature whose powers are well integrated—one can with equal justice call it a *passio*.

The foregoing account suggests why Thomas does not include in the *Summa* a sequence of questions dedicated to intellectual *affectūs*. This was not a mistake or omission on Thomas’s part.⁸ On the contrary, Thomas composes the *Summa*, and especially its second part, as a way of describing and inciting the rational animal’s ascent to beatitude. Were the simple teaching a reliable guide to Thomas’s deepest thinking, we would expect him to follow the consideration of the will and its acts (1–2.8–17) with a slew of questions about rational *affectūs*, emphasizing their superiority over the lower *passiones*. Indeed, he might have composed an entire treatise on the rational affections, as some of his successors seem to think he should have.⁹

But Thomas does just the opposite. He writes no treatise on rational affections—and not merely because he never writes treatises.¹⁰ Instead, he chooses to compose a sequence of questions on the passions—a sequence that includes acts whose causation is intellectual (see, for example, the treatment of *gaudium* at 1–2.31.3–5), but refuses to alienate such acts from the passions. This choice reflects his judgement that the human ascent to blessedness does *not* consist primarily of acts desired and chosen in abstraction from our condition as embodied minds. More important than quasi-angelic *affectūs* are the *passiones* described at 1–2.22–48. Through them, we are drawn passively in a certain way by God himself, more potently than by our own reason.

Notes

- 1 Citations of the *Summa* are from the Latin text at www.corpusthomisticum.org, ed. Enrique Alarcón. Parenthetical references are to Part, Question, Article, and Article division. Translations are my own.
- 2 John 4:16, cited by Thomas at 1.20.1 sc.
- 3 A similar relation obtains between love and *miserericordia*. God’s mercy is not an *affectus* apart from love, but rather its supreme manifestation. If mercy can be traced back to love, it is no less true that ‘in every work of God appears mercy, with respect to its primal root’ (1.21.4 co.).
- 4 It appears just enough to mislead readers who approach the *Summa* by tending to ‘dip in and out, trawling for Thomas’s views on this or that topic at will or as needed’: Denys Turner, ‘The Human Person,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to the Summa Theologiae*, ed. Philip McCosker and Denys Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 171. Places that a trawling expedition will easily find include 1.59.4 ad 2; 1.64.3; 1.82.5 ad 1; and 1–2.22.3 ad 3.
- 5 For a perceptive appreciation of this point, see Shawn Floyd, ‘Aquinas on Emotion: A Response to Some Recent Interpretations,’ *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 15 (1998): 170–171.
- 6 Thomas Merton, *The New Man* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1961), 8.

- 7 'If man is one being in his very being and nature, soul and body are parts that are not only in themselves incomplete, but also intended in their very nature to be completed by one another': Anton C. Pegis, 'St. Thomas and the Unity of Man,' in *Progress in Philosophy: Philosophical Studies in Honor of Rev. Doctor Charles A. Hart*, ed. James A. McWilliams (Milwaukee, WI: Bruce Publishing Co., 1955), 157. What Pegis holds for soul in general applies to intellectual *affectūs*. In human beings, they exist as parts and require completion by the sensitive powers. For Thomas, as Pegis remarks, 'the human intellect is not fully an intellect *without the sensible powers*' (169, emphasis in original). Pegis's point about intellect extends to intellectual appetite.
- 8 It 'would have helped a great deal,' Daniel Westberg claims, for Thomas to have given 'special treatment to the term *affectus*': 'Emotion and God: A Reply to Marcel Sarot,' *The Thomist* 60 (1996), 118. If my argument is sound, Thomas had good reason to avoid just this treatment.
- 9 One example might be Suarez, whose 'attack against the term *passio* in favour of *affectus*' in his commentary on *Summa* 1-2 (trac. 4, disp. 1, sect. 1) is mentioned in Michael Champion et al., 'But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,' *Rivista storica italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016), 536.
- 10 On the significance of Thomas's refusal to write treatises, see Mark Jordan, *Teaching Bodies: Moral Formation in the Summa of Thomas Aquinas* (New York: Fordham, 2017), 11.

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11 *Accidentia anime* in Late Medieval Medicine

Naama Cohen-Hanegbi

At the turn of the twelfth century, a new term for emotions—*accidentia anime*—appeared in Latin with the introduction of the new medical corpus translated from the Arabic. The term first arrived from Monte Cassino where Constantine the African (d. 1098/9) translated the *Isagogue* by Hunayn Ibn Ishāq and ‘Ali ibn al-’Abbas al-Majusi’s (Haly Abbas) *Pantegni*. Later translators of both medical and scientific treatises in Toledo, also working from the Arabic, employed the same term. Over the next three centuries, it became a *terminus technicus* specific to the medical field. Medical authors did use some alternative terms, which were *de facto* interchangeable, including *passiones anime*, *passiones cordis*, and *motus anime* or *animi*. These terms appeared in both medical and non-medical texts, in contrast to *accidentia anime* which became almost exclusively specific to the medical profession.¹ The choice of this particular term carried with it a trace of the theoretical debate within ancient Greek medicine about the nature of emotions. Late medieval medicine inherited the term, but with its specific tenor somewhat diminished. Still, as it became a professional medical term, it encapsulated key difficulties within the medical view of emotions. Highlighting these problems will also provide an instructive case study for the tenuous nature of the conceptualization of emotions in premodern thought more generally.

An Accidental Birth of A Term?

From the earliest records available to us and throughout the later Middle Ages, medicine handled the influence of specific emotional experiences on human health with relative ease since it was widely accepted that moods and feelings manifest in, and alter the state of, the body. Medicine’s efforts to classify and define these experiences as a category were much less elegant. A brief account of the development that goes back to the ancients is necessary to set the scene. The Hippocratic corpus already notes the physical dangers of a bad mood or an extremely joyous state. One of the more famous passages expressing the relevance of mental states to health is an aphorism on the causes of melancholy: ‘Fear and depression that is prolonged means melancholia.’²

The assertion appears repeatedly in premodern medicine. This seemingly straightforward statement also reveals a central challenge learned medicine encountered in the realm of emotions. Medical authors recognized the physical impact of specific emotions within their daily practice but were wary of explaining the rationale behind this intuition as it demanded delving into the much more problematic issue of the relationship between the soul, or the mind, and the body, which exceeded the common practice of the physician. This absence of theory is passable in the *Aphorisms*, a text terse in nature. Yet, as Chiara Thumiger recently pointed out, the Hippocratic corpus more generally shows no attempt to provide a conceptual framework for emotions and their place within the workings of the body.³

To some degree, this vagueness remains even in the more theoretically advanced medical teachings of Galen. Galen wrote extensively on the passions in both his philosophical and medical works. However, although he offered a thorough material account of the causes and consequences of specific emotional states, such as anger, he avoided discussing the emotions in a conclusive manner.⁴ Highlighting Galen's hesitation in this regard is the rare mention of the soul in his medical discussions of the emotions. Scant use of the term 'passions of the soul' (*ψυχικῶν παθῶν*)⁵ also attests to two other obstacles he encountered: first, the passivity implied in the word 'passions' and its dismissal of the active force of emotions within the body; and second, the incompatibility of the medical approach with Platonic philosophy of the soul. These concerns are not merely semantic—they relate to the possibility of medicine as a discipline of care for emotions—nevertheless, language is the vehicle transmitting these ideas. Although Galen tried to solve this incongruence with alternative terms (for example, defining these states as *energeiai*) and other rhetorical ploys (arguing for discrete disciplinary frameworks), the issue of emotions remained unsolved in his medical works.⁶

This short background on the diffident discussion of emotions in Greek medicine assists somewhat in explaining the appearance of a new term with the translation of Galen into Syriac, and later into Arabic. Translations of Galenic works inspired various attempts to restructure some of the less organized ideas that appear in his writings. One topic that achieved full reformation was that of the necessary causes of health, also known as hygiene. Galen included ideas about dietetics in many of his works, but Arabic authors provided a more systematic approach to the subject and developed it into the framework recognized in medieval Latin medicine as the 'six non-naturals,' that is, the elements necessary for maintaining health.⁷ The passions of the soul usually appear as the sixth in this category, literally translated to *infī'ālāt an-naḥsāniyya*. Arabic medical authors, however, began employing the term *'Awāriḍ al-naḥs*: *'Awāriḍ* (عَوَارِض: literally, incidents, or symptoms, given the medical context) signifying the core Aristotelian term, *συμβεβηκός*, or in its

Latin rendering *accidens* (pl. *accidentia*).⁸ Unfortunately, a full genealogy of the shifting terms for emotions in Arabic is yet to be established. Nonetheless, the preference for ‘accidents,’ *Awāriḍ*, over ‘passions’ might be the result of the simultaneous transmission of Aristotelian and Galenic treatises in Arabic medicine, which led to an easy crossover of terms in several instances.⁹ In our case, as the two words both carry a meaning akin to experience, or a happening, the crossover seems likely. The choice of words, nevertheless, does have some important implications. The shift to *accidentia* conceals the negative connotation often associated with the passions in Greek philosophy; it echoes the passive state less, and its affinity to Aristotelian terminology of chance and incidence lends it neutrality. A thorough study of this lexical transmission should determine whether these choices were intentional and theoretically prescribed by the Arabic medical discourse. The subsequent transmission of this medical tradition into Latin, simultaneously received from both Arabic and Greek, demonstrates how, within the developing discipline of learned medicine in the late medieval Latin regions, these translation choices determined the discourse on emotions.

Accidentia anime

As mentioned, the Latin term *accidentia anime* seems to have appeared first in the works of Constantine the African. Although we do not know which Arabic manuscripts he had in front of him, it seems safe to conclude from the aforementioned that he translated the sixth non-natural literally.¹⁰ Before Constantine, the two words *accidens* and *anima*, or their roots, appear in close proximity in Latin texts mainly in passages which describe afflictions of the soul (*anima*) or the mind (*animus*).¹¹ However, none of these instances includes a fixed construct that would suggest the use of a specific terminology, and none refers to emotions specifically. The wide and rapid dissemination of Constantine’s works, which had a significant influence on the intellectual history of medieval Europe and the development of the medical profession, is also apparent in this aspect of the emotions.¹² It introduced new terminology into scientific and medical discourse. This absorption of the term is apparent as early as Hugh of St Victor (c. 1096–1141) who referred to the category of the six non-naturals, naming the sixth element *accidentia anime*.¹³

The next wave of translators working in Toledo in the mid-twelfth century produced additional medical texts from Arabic, and their translations assisted in disseminating the term. They most probably knew and accepted Constantine’s terminology choices and consciously repeated them in the works they produced.¹⁴ Hence, among the more prevalent and widely used terms of the period, such as *passiones anime*, *affectio-nes*, or *affectus*, medical literature largely preferred its own particular category for emotions—*accidentia anime*. To reiterate, *accidentia anime*

was never a unique term in the medical discipline, and yet its primacy as a professional idiom is evident; the transmission of Galen's *Tegni* demonstrates how it took the lead. The text was translated from Greek twice and then again from Arabic in a version that contained Alī ibn Ridwān's (fl. 1060) commentary.¹⁵ The translation from the Greek (*Translatio antiqua*) used the term *passiones anime*, while the *Translatio arabica* used *accidentia anime*.¹⁶ For reasons unrelated to our topic, the Arabic version of Galen's text was preferred and included in the basic collection of medical texts disseminated among the emerging medical faculties. Thus, the new term circulated and reached this specialist audience. Meanwhile, outside this professional community, the term was rarely used, and its particular nuance was ignored. Physicians recognized its uniqueness; for example, Bartholomaeus of Salerno (fl. 1150–1180) saw it necessary to explicate in his commentary of the *Tegni* that *accidentia anime* was the passion of the soul.¹⁷ The fact that he made no significant distinction between these terms invites us to consider, all the more, what benefit he and other physicians saw in using the lesser-known term while a much more prominent one was at hand. I suggest that alongside the obvious influence of the translations from Arabic, the term's specialized appeal was particularly alluring to the burgeoning profession.

The 'passions,' or the 'passions of the soul,' were undoubtedly the most common terms among both laymen and intellectuals of the late medieval period. Linked to practices of piety as well as to pastoral theology, which spread to the broader public during this period, these terms resonated with strong moral and spiritual values. As we learn from the constant reminders of medical authors, the physicians of the body were to treat only the body. Moral, let alone spiritual, afflictions were entrusted to the jurisdiction and care of the physicians of the soul. This division of care added another dimension to the already uneasy place of emotions within the Galenic tradition. Thus, in the commentaries of the *Tegni*, a customary topic of discussion was the relevance of emotions to medicine. Commentators repeatedly asserted that states such as anger, sorrow, joy, or fear were relevant to medicine only as far as they altered the state of the body.¹⁸ As these texts served as teaching guides for future practitioners, we may deduce that university-educated physicians were all aware of the restrictions, or at least the challenges, that pertained to treating the emotional lives of their patients. Still, this barrier was not set in stone, and physicians drew the demarcation line in different places. It is possible that a lexical distinction of the medical approach to emotions assisted in asserting the limited consideration of these states under the physician's care. We may consider, then, that *accidentia anime*, despite its oddity, remained in use in medical texts because it lacked religious and ethical overtones.

Alongside this functional explanation, a more theoretical issue was at play. In preserving the term *accidentia anime*, physicians expressed their view that, at least medically, emotional states were not passive but

incidental occurrences. From a materialist point of view, this was an essential position as it permitted a stronger correlation between bodily and mental states—a correlation vital for the holistic approach that perceived humoral complexions as involving certain moods and feelings. For example, identifying a choleric person as more prone to anger, or an abundance of yellow bile as the cause of ill health with episodes of rage, presumes a very strong interconnectedness of body and mind. Such a formulation of the state of emotional occurrences is not fully commensurate with the external/internal dichotomy associated with *passio*.¹⁹ Whereas passions were commonly defined as external imprints on the soul, *accidentia* conveyed in this respect as well, a more neutral sense that enabled a circumvention of the dichotomous mindset to consider emotions as bodily movements.

The Search for Alternative Terms

As much as the term was widely used in the dietary advice of medical *consilia* and regimens of health, *accidentia anime* remained an odd term even for physicians. Although there is no explicit expression of dissatisfaction with it, we can understand the various suggestions of alternative terms for the sixth non-natural which appears in the medical texts as the sign of a quest for one more useful. For example, in his *Speculum medicine*, Arnau de Vilanova (1240–1311) gave the chapter on emotions the title of *De accidentibus anime*, yet within the text he clarified this by mentioning the more widely known *passiones cordis* and *passiones mentis*.²⁰ This again identifies *accidentia anime* as a specialized idiom that requires explication in more widely known language. Despite Arnau's emphasis that these common terms were not accurate, he turned to them to sharpen his analysis of the category. Other terms that appear in medical treatises include, for example, *passiones animales*, favoured by the Milanese physician Giovanni Matteo Ferrari da Grado (d. 1472), and *accidentia animi*, choice of the Florentine physician Antonio Benivieni (1443–1502).²¹ In vernacular medical texts, *passiones* was the preferred term: for example, we find the term *passiones del alma* in the treatises of the Castilian Alfonso Chirino (c. 1365–1429), and in Benedetto Reguardati's (1398–1469) *consilium* to Giovanni de Medici, *passione d'animo* is used.²² That physicians would alternate between the distinct *anima*, *animales*, and *animus* without explaining themselves points to a degree of conflation of both varieties of occurrences and of the faculties of the soul. The loss of nuance, nevertheless, demonstrates the concept was not so firmly established.

This fluidity is also mirrored in the flexibility inherent in the type of experiences physicians included under the sixth non-natural element. The literature informing patients and fellow physicians how to obtain a balanced regimen yields a wide range of aspects which involve the soul and mind. In addition to emotions (anger, sorrow, joy, etc.), under the category

of *accidentia anime* we find discussions of sensations (particularly sexual delectation), character traits (timidity or audacity), gestures (such as laughter and tears), or cognitive actions (intense thinking or meditation).²³ This ability to ignore distinctions of duration, material manifestations, or the physical organs involved is noteworthy. There is no doubt that the distinctive characteristics were recognized by the authors themselves. Crying, for example, was discussed extensively in ophthalmological works both as a material effusion and as an expression of grief or joy.²⁴ That it is found lumped together under the same rubric as emotions in some texts, indicates that the category was defined loosely. The vague nature of the term *accidentia* served as a wide umbrella under which all manifestations of the sensitive soul's activity in the body could be included. In preferring a vague and malleable term, physicians found a gateway for discussing emotions in a medically appropriate, if somewhat isolated, way. Granted, this was not a conscious choice. Most authors, we can assume, copied and followed their predecessors and the established authorities in their choice of words. Yet, in view of contemporary debates and the existing alternatives, it is reasonable to suggest that it was the neutrality of *accidentia anime* that allowed them to argue the non-moral nature of their advice, and to claim a bodily relevance while overcoming the theoretical difficulties identified by natural philosophers and physicians throughout the ages.

Conclusion

Accidentia anime was a transient term. It existed in the Latin medical discipline for about three centuries and was then succeeded by the more popular 'passions of the soul' and by various other derivations. *Consilia* cases from the sixteenth century include new terms—*perturbationes animi* and *animi affectus*—that are, as far as I have seen, absent in literature before 1500.²⁵ A medical multilingual glossary composed by Bartolomeo Castelli (fl. 1596) clearly reveals the fall of this term into disuse. Under *accidens*, all substitute words denote chance or happening (in Arabic *ʿAwāriḍ* and in Italian *accidente*), in keeping with the technical meaning of the word. In contrast, the translations of *passio* include Arabic and Hebrew parallels that denote the literal sense of a passive state (Ar. *infial*, Heb. *hiphaalut*) alongside words denoting a mental state (Heb. *chaschascha*). The noted Italian synonym *passione* has by the late sixteenth century come to be synonymous with *passione anime*. Hence, the glossary indicates that within medical language, *accidens* became restricted to its literal meaning, while *passio* lost its non-affective sense, exclusively denoting pain and certain mental states.²⁶

Like its appearance and usage in the medical discourse, the disappearance of *accidentia anime* seems to have been determined by three contributing factors: first, the new wave of translations of medical texts from the original Greek, led by the desire to set aside Arabic translations,

preferred *affectio* and *passio* instead of *accidens* in their medical textbooks;²⁷ second, the decline of Aristotelian natural philosophy and its loss of foundational role in medical thought, which lent less significance to its terminology in medical practice; and third, the growing interest in communicating medical ideas to the public, evident in the numerous vernacular medical treatises published in the period, allowed the intrusion of popular terms into medical literature.

A final note: two terms which receive much attention in this volume on the premodern terminology of emotions and which, as far as I can see, are absent from the discussion of medical literature, are *affectus* and *affectio*. This might suggest that authors posited a distinction between *affectus* and *affectio*, which they considered intellectual and moral states, and the sensitive, preintellectual, bodily states discussed in the medical corpus.²⁸ Still, seeing the evident fluidity of terms, both in medicine and in the most refined theology, the omission of such mainstream terms also highlights, in an argument of silence, just how distinctly secluded the medical discourse on emotions was in this nascent period of medical learning. Scholarship in recent years has revealed the close ties between the development of medical knowledge and broader intellectual pursuits, as well as the avid interest in medical knowledge within cathedral schools and monasteries.²⁹ Keeping the discourse of emotions in medicine separate from parallel discourses suggests that, consciously or not, there were barriers that identified medical emotions—*accidentia anime*—as a distinct category.

Notes

- * My sincere thanks to Gerrit Bos, Nahyan Fancy, Monica Green, and Uri Melammed, who kindly responded to my queries and brought to my attention helpful references and suggestions.
- 1 Pedro Gil-Sotres, 'Modelo teórico y observación clínica: Las pasiones del alma en la psicología médica medieval,' in *Comprendre et Maîtriser la nature au Moyen Âge: Mélanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan*, ed. Danielle Jacquart (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 181–204.
- 2 Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, trans. W. H. S Jones, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 6: 23, 185.
- 3 Chiara Thumiger, *A History of the Mind and Mental Health in Classical Greek Medical Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2017), 342.
- 4 Heinrich von Staden, 'The Physiology and Therapy of Anger: Galen on Medicine, the Soul, and Nature,' in *Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas*, ed. Felicitas Opwis and David Reisman (Leiden, Brill: 2012), 63–87.
- 5 Galen, *On the Constitution of the Art of Medicine*, ed. and trans. Ian Johnston, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 252.
- 6 von Staden, 'The Physiology and Therapy of Anger,' 67–70; Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, Oxford University Press: 2006), 97; Teun Tieleman, *Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul: Argument and Refutation in the De Placitis, Books II-III*, (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 38–65.

- 7 The six non-naturals include: air, food and drink, rest and motion, sleep and watch, retention and evacuation, and the passions/accidents of the soul. The history of the term has been most recently discussed by R. Coeli Fitzpatrick, *Galen's Necessary Causes in Medieval Arabic Sources*, dissertation, Binghamton University/State University of New York (2002).
- 8 Moses Maimonides, *Medical Aphorisms: Treatises 6–9*, ed. and trans. Gerrit Bos (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press: 2007), 24.
- 9 Nahyan Fancy, *Science and Religion in Mamluk Egypt: Ibn al-Nafīs, Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection* (London: Routledge, 2013), 70–71.
- 10 Transmission to Hebrew offers further corroboration to this shift towards *accidentia*: Moses Ibn Tibbon's (fl. 1240–1283) mid-thirteenth-century translations of medical texts from Arabic to Hebrew consistently choose the term *Miqreh HaNefesh*, a common translation for the Arabic *'Awāriḍ*, for the Aristotelian *accidentia*. See, for example, Paris, BnF, MS Hébr. 1114, fol. 73r. In this, Moses followed the translation choices of his father Shmuel (1150–1230) who translated Maimonides' theological and philosophical treatises to Hebrew and preserved the philosophical terminology in the medical works as well. For Moshe Ibn Tibbon's translations, see Mauro Zonta, 'Medieval Hebrew Translations of Philosophical and Scientific Texts,' in *Science in Medieval Jewish Culture*, ed. Gad Freudenthal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 30–37.
- 11 See, for example, the use by Hildegard of Bingen: 'et ubi carnalia uelut in sinistra deberent abicere, ibi meror ipsis etiam per *afflictionem animi accedit*,' in *Hildegardis Liber vite meritorum*, ed. Angela Carlevaris. CCCM 90 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 5: 35, 242 [my emphasis]. Or, John Cassian: 'Hic uero *morbus posterius superueniens et extrinsecus accedens animae* quanto facilius caueri potest ac respui, tanto neglectus et intromissus semel cordi fit perniciosior cunctis difficilius que propellitur,' in John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis*, ed. Michael Petschenig. CSEL 17 (Vienna, Tempsky, 1888; repr. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 7: 2, 130 [my emphasis].
- 12 On the contribution of Constantine the African, see Monica H. Green, 'Gloriosissimus Galienus: Galen and Galenic Writings in the 11th- and 12th-Century Latin West,' in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen*, ed. Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Barbara Zipser (forthcoming); *Constantine the African and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Mağūsī: The Pantegni and Related Texts*, ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (Leiden: Brill, 1994); and Charles Burnett, 'The Legend of Constantine the African,' *Micrologus* 21 (2013): 277–294.
- 13 Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, ed. C. H. Buttmer (Washington, DC: The Catholic University Press, 1939), 43.
- 14 We cannot corroborate that Gerard of Cremona and his circle had Constantine's texts in front of them, but studies on the choice of texts translated as well as on other aspects of terminology render this assumption likely. See, for example, Ivan Garofalo, 'La traduction arabo-latine de la *Méthode thérapeutique* attribuée a Gérard de Crémone,' *Galenos*, 11 (2017): 51–72; and Charles Burnett, 'Sapores sunt octo: The Medieval Latin Terminology for the Eight Flavours,' *Micrologus* 10 (2002): 99–112.
- 15 For a clear summary of the double transmission, see Cornelius O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine: Teaching at the University of Paris, 1250–1400* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 92–94.
- 16 Gil-Sotres, 'Modelo teórico,' 182–183.
- 17 Erfurt, Stadt-und Regionalbibliothek, MS CA 4^o 294, fol. 68v.

- 18 Naama Cohen-Hanegbi, *Caring for the Living Soul: Emotions, Medicine and Penance in the Late Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 91–97.
- 19 This dichotomy was significant in medical thinking of the period as it was essential to discussions on causes of pathology and symptoms. Emotions were an important thinking tool for identifying the dynamics between internal and external in the functioning of the body in health and illness. See Karine van 't Land, 'Internal, Yet Extrinsic: Conceptions of Bodily Space and their Relation to Causality in Late Medieval University Medicine,' in *Medicine and Space: Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia A. Baker, Han Nijdam, and Karine van 't Land (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 85–116.
- 20 Arnaldus de Villanova, 'Speculum medicine,' in *Hec sunt opera Arnaldi de Villanova que in hoc volumine continentur...* (Lyon, 1504), fol. 23v. The chapter opens with this identification of the category: 'animi accidentia pro tanto passiones cordis omnes dicuntur: quam cor in eis primo et principaliter patitur. Nominatur autem passiones mentis non formaliter sed potius effective.'
- 21 Giovanni Matteo Ferrari da Grado, *Consilia* (Venice, 1521); Antonio Benivieni, *Antonii Benivienii de regimine sanitatis ad Laurentium Medicum*, ed. Luigi Belloni (Torino: Società Italiana di Patologia, 1951), 43–45.
- 22 Alonso Chirino, *Menor Daño de la medicina de Alonso Chirino: Edición crítica y glosario*, ed. Maria T. Herrera (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1973), 47; Marilyn Nicoud, 'Les conseils médicaux en langues vulgaires: Recherches sur des formes de communication entre patients et praticiens,' *Romance Philology* 71 (2017): 454.
- 23 Cohen-Hanegbi, *Caring for the Living Soul*, 27–49.
- 24 See, for example, the discussion of tears as material effusion due to abundant phlegm in Benvenutus Grassus, *De oculis eorumque aegritudinibus et curis* (Ferrara, 1474), fol. 15r.
- 25 For example, Rome, Vatican Library, MS Pal. Lat. 1892, fols 242v, 250r.
- 26 Bartolomeo Castelli, *Lexicon medicum graeco-latinum* (Norimberga, 1682), 1, 33; *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice, 1612), 599; John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London, 1611), 360.
- 27 For example, Galen, *De sanitate tuenda libri sex*, trans. Thomas Linacre (Venice, 1523), fols 32v, 55r.
- 28 See the essays in this volume by Constant J. Mews, Tomas Zahora, and Robert Miner. See also Holly A. Crocker, 'Medieval Affects Now,' *Exemplaria* 29, no. 1 (2017): 83–85.
- 29 See Irene Caiazzo, 'Nature et découverte de la nature au XIIe siècle: nouvelles perspectives,' *Quaestio* 15 (2015): 47–72.

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12 *Affeccioun* in Middle English Devotional Writing

Paul Megna

Despite the fact that ‘emotion’ does not describe a psychic and/or bodily state in the English lexicon until the early seventeenth century,¹ a great deal of recent scholarship explores not only medieval emotion and ‘emotionology,’² but also the English words used to describe emotion before *emotion*.³ As Stephanie Downes and Rebecca F. McNamara note, Middle English texts employ words like *passioun*, *felyng*, *sentement*, *care*, and *affeccioun* to describe something resembling at least some uses of the Modern English *emotion*.⁴ This chapter surveys how various Middle English devotional texts employ *affeccioun*. Of course, there is no absolute consensus amongst these texts regarding exactly what *affeccioun* means (and much less the role it should play in Christian devotion). Nevertheless, myriad Middle English devotional texts employ *affeccioun* to signify a sort of loving desire in the context of teaching their audience to cultivate certain forms of *affeccioun* and suppress others.⁵ Before turning to these texts, I will briefly discuss the semantic valence and etymology of *affeccioun*.

The Middle English Dictionary (MED) offers a helpful two-part definition of *affeccioun*.⁶ According to its first part, *affeccioun* can mean ‘[t]hat faculty of the soul concerned with emotion and volition; the emotional (as opposed to the intellectual) side of human nature, capacity for feeling or emotion; the capacity for desiring or willing, the will.’ Of course, it is problematic (if unavoidable) to use the word *emotion* to define any word extant in the English language prior to the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, Middle English authors often employ *affeccioun* as an umbrella term encompassing some of the states that we now call emotions. In his translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus’s *De proprietatibus rerum*, for example, John Trevisa writes: ‘Affecciouns beþ foure: ioye, hope, drede, and sorwe.’⁷ That *affeccioun* can mean a capacity for desire or will, as well as for emotion, speaks to the influence of a long scholastic tradition of defining *affectiones* as aptitudes of the will.⁸ This influence is directly traceable through Thomas Usk’s late fourteenth-century *Testament of Love*, which contains in its third book an unacknowledged translation of Anselm of Canterbury’s doctrine on the *affectiones* in his *De concordia*. ‘Affeccion,’ Usk writes, ‘is

an instrument of willinge in his apetytes.’⁹ Just as there is no absolute consensus on the relationship between affection and will amongst scholastic theologians, Middle English authors differ on this issue. For example, *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (a Middle English rendering of the Old French *Somme le Roi*, itself a translation of Peraldus’s Latin *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*) articulates a slightly different understanding of affection than Anselm’s: ‘Þe herte heþ tuo zides, þe onderstondinge and þet wyl—the skele and þe affeccioun.’¹⁰ While this statement echoes Usk’s Anselmian definition of *affeccioun*, it differs in casting understanding and will as two sides of the *heart* (as opposed to the soul) and neglecting to specify the relationship between *affeccioun* and *wyl*, which it implies to be roughly synonymous.

Where the examples relegated under the MED’s first definition of *affeccioun* use the word to describe a general faculty or capacity for emotion or will, those relegated under its multifaceted second definition use *affeccioun* to signify particular instances of emotion, will, love, or desire. Thus, *affeccioun* can signify: ‘An emotion, a feeling; emotional disturbance or excitement’ (MED, def. 2a). Chaucer’s *Parson’s Tale*, for example, defines fortitude as ‘an affeccioun thurgh which a man despiseth anoyouse thynges.’¹¹ Unlike Trevisa-Bartholomeus’s circumscribed taxonomy of affections (joy, hope, sorrow, fear), the Parson’s definition of fortitude suggests a much more expansive taxonomy of *affecciouns* containing many of the sins and their remedial virtues discussed at length in his *Tale*. More generally, *affeccioun* can signify a loving regard for an object (MED, defs. 2c and d), as does its modern English cognate (OED, def. 2a).¹² Indeed, the Middle English-to-Latin dictionary *Promptorium parvulorum* defines *affectio* as ‘[a]ffeccyon, or hertyly wellwyllynge’ (heartily well-wishing).¹³ Finally, *affeccioun* also signifies desire (MED, def. 2b), as when Prudence of Chaucer’s *Tale of Melibee* chides her husband for his voracious ‘affeccioun to make warre.’¹⁴

Like countless Middle English words, *affeccioun* enters the English lexicon by way of Old French and Latin.¹⁵ Stephen Scrope’s mid-fifteenth-century translation of Christine de Pizan’s *Épître d’Othéa* imports the word directly into English, using Christine’s exact spelling: *affeccions*.¹⁶ Likewise, the plural form of the Middle English signifier also closely resembles the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural of the Latin *affectio*: *affectiones*. Thus, Trevisa renders Bartholomeus Anglicus’s *affectiones* as *affeciouns*.¹⁷ Middle English translators of Latin, including Trevisa, also used *affeccioun(s)* to translate several other Latin terms including various forms of *affectus* and *motus*.¹⁸ Both Chaucer and John Walton typically render both *affectus* and *affectio* as *affeccione(s)* in their translations of Boethius’s *Consolatio philosophiae* (though they occasionally employ *desir[e]* and *desyrynges* to do so). Unlike Walton, Chaucer quite frequently renders Boethius’s plural uses of *affectus* or *affectio* as ‘talentz or affecciouns,’ perhaps in

order to clarify that he is trying to signify desire as opposed to love.¹⁹ Likewise, the Middle English Bible frequently translates the Vulgate's uses of *affectus* and *affectio* as *affeccioun*, but usually provides a synonym (Phil. 2:20 translates the Vulgate's 'sincera affectione' as 'clene affeccioun, or desyre'; 2 Macc. 14:37 translates the Vulgate's 'pro adfectu' as 'for affeccioun, or loue'; and 2 Tim. 3:3 translates the Vulgate's 'sine affectione' as 'wipoute affeccioun, or good wille').²⁰ Like Chaucer, the Middle English Bible translators may have worried about *affeccioun*'s capacious semantic valence and furnished synonyms for the sake of clarity. Although Middle English translators frequently used *affeccioun* to render its Old French and Latin cognates, they did not always do so. For example, the author of the popular Middle English devotional text *Prik of Conscience* renders Augustine's *affectus* as 'lykyng and [...] will'²¹ rather than 'affeccioun,' although they elsewhere employ the phrase 'greet affeccioun.'²²

Although *affeccioun* becomes a vital keyword in Middle English devotional writing during the fourteenth century, it does not appear frequently in Early Middle English texts, despite the intense focus on emotional asceticism characterizing texts like *Ancrene Wisse*, *The Wohunge of ure Laured*, and *Sawles Warde*.²³ The single occurrence of pre-fourteenth-century *affeccioun* listed in the MED is contained in *Ancrene Wisse*'s discussion of the deadly sin lechery. Drawing from an unknown source that its author attributes to Bernard of Clairvaux, the *Wisse* claims that lechery occurs in three 'degrees': cogitation, affection, and consent.²⁴ Cogitations are 'flying thoughts' with lecherous content that do not wound the soul, but bespatter it with black specks. When such thoughts are not immediately cast out, lechery progresses to the degree of affection:

Affectiun is hwen the thoht geath in-ward, ant delit kimeth up, ant te lust waxeth. Thenne, as wes spot ear up-o the hwite hude, ther waxeth wunde ant deopeth in toward te sawle efter thet te lust geath ant te delit th'rin forthre.²⁵

Affection is when the thought goes inward, delight arises, and lust grows. Then, where before there was a spot on the white hood, there grows a wound which deepens in toward the soul as the desire and the delight go in further.²⁶

Consent, lechery's third and final degree, occurs when delight in lust grows so overpowering that the anchoress would not refuse the opportunity to indulge, should it arise. As the middle term in this triad, affection exists somewhere between unwanted cogitation and sinful volition. When she experiences the wound of affection, therefore, the anchoress is instructed to cry out for help—'A, Laverd, heal me! for ich am i-wundet'²⁷ ('Oh, Lord, heal me for I am wounded')²⁸—lest her delight

in affection drive her to consent to sin. Of course, the intricate ascetic programme laid out in the *Wisse* also involves deliberately conjuring holy emotions like love and compassion through prayer and meditation on Christ's suffering, despite the fact that its author does not employ the word *affectiun* to describe these feelings. The exclusively negative use of *affectiun* in the *Wisse*, therefore, does not convey its author's blanket distrust of emotion and may simply be a byproduct of the author reaching for a near homonym to translate their lost source's *affectio* or *affectus*. What the *Wisse*'s use of *affectiun* does tell us is that medieval ascetics taught strategies to root out emotional temptations before they could threaten to inform actions. Since the wound of sin, for the *Wisse*-author, is inflicted prior to such action (or even consent), the anchoress is obligated to police her emotions as well as her deeds. Later Middle English anchoritic guidebooks, like the two translations of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusorum* extant in fifteenth-century manuscripts, make much more liberal use of *affeccioun* to describe both holy and sinful desires.²⁹

Among the most influential figures in the explosion of Middle English devotional writing in the fourteenth century is the hermit Richard Rolle. Although Rolle wrote in both Latin and Middle English, all his writing is shot through with an ethos of emotional asceticism, according to which, as Nicholas Watson puts it, 'the process of spiritual advance begins [...] with conversion and the ordering of the affections, so that the will is put in tune with the self-evident moral structure of the world.'³⁰ For Rolle, therefore, *affeccioun* is morally ambiguous, and the process through which a devotee performs spiritual affections and abandons sinful, bodily affections constitutes the backbone of any ascetic programme designed to facilitate spiritual ascent:

Gernyng [yearning] and delite of Ihesu Criste þat has na thyng of worldes thoghtes, es wondyrfull, pure, haly, and faste, and whene a man felis hym in þat degre than es a man Circumsysede gastely. It es haly whene all oper besynes and affeccyons and thoghtes are drawene away owte of his saule, that he may hafe ryste in goddes lufe.³¹

In order to distinguish between holy and sinful affections, Rolle typically qualifies *affeccioun* with positive and negative adjectives, labelling the former *rygth*³² or *gude*,³³ and the latter *fleschely*³⁴ or *venemus*.³⁵ This becomes common practice in later Middle English devotional writing. For example, in the *Invocatio ad Mariam* in Chaucer's *Second Nun's Prologue*, the speaker beseeches Mary to alleviate her 'erthely lust and fals affeccioun,'³⁶ whereas one of the aforementioned translations of Aelred's *Institutione inclusorum* entreates its audience to cultivate 'swete,' 'clene,' and 'holy affeccioun.'³⁷

Similar to Rolle, the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, a Middle English masterpiece of apophatic devotion, defines virtue as God-directed affection: 'For vertewe is not elles bot an ordeinde and a mesurid affeccion, plainly directe unto God for Himself.'³⁸ Also like Rolle, the *Cloud*-author advocates an ascetic programme designed to cultivate holy affection, though *The Cloud*'s account of the task of loving God is more fraught with difficulty, since the eponymous cloud of unknowing always interposes itself between the devotee and God:

This derknes and this cloude is, howsoever thou dost, bitwix thee and thi God, and letteth thee that thou maist not see Him cleerly by light of understanding in thi reson, ne fele Him in swetnes of love in thin affeccion.³⁹

For the *Cloud*-author, one does not cultivate a virtuous affection by loving God alone, but by contemplating the radical nothingness separating the worldly self from divine presence: 'Wonderfully is a mans affeccion varied in goostly felyng of this nought when it is noughwhere wrought.'⁴⁰ Despite his belief that the cloud of unknowing prevents the earthbound devotee from *completely* feeling God through the affection, the *Cloud*-author, as Alastair Minnis argues, follows the Victorine theologian Thomas Gallus in consistently privileging affection over cognition as a medium through which the terrestrial subject can encounter divinity: God, according to the *Cloud*-author, 'may wel be loved, bot not thought. By love he may be geten and holden, bot bi thought neither.'⁴¹

As Minnis explains, the *Cloud*-author conceives of his audience as a rarified group of elite contemplatives, and perhaps this explains why he does not belabour the spiritually sophomoric point that one must redirect one's desires away from worldly objects and towards divinity.⁴² Like Rolle and unlike the *Cloud*-author, the Augustinian canon Walter Hilton does not presuppose an audience of elite ascetics and therefore concerns himself much more with the mechanics of progressing from worldly affections to spiritual ones necessary for the spiritual maturation of 'lesser mortals' (Minnis's term for the non-elite audience whom Hilton addresses and the *Cloud*-author neglects). Hilton, however, is less consistently condemnatory of 'manly affeccioun,' often seeing it as a starting point for soliciting the grace necessary to experience 'gostly affeccioun':

Othere soulis that [...] traveilen hemsilf bi here owen affecciouns and stiren hemsilf thorough thenkyng of God and bodili exercise for to drawen out of hem bi maistrie the feelynge of love, fervours and othere bodili signes, loven not so goostli. Thei doon wel and medefulli, bi so that thei wolen knowe mekeli that here wirkyng is not kindeli the gracious feelynge of love, but it is manli doon bi a soule

at the biddynge of resoun. And nevertheles thorough the goodenesse of God, bicause that soule doth that in it is, thise manli affeccions of the soule stired into God bi mannys wirkyng are turned into goostli affeccions, and are maad medful as yf thei hadde be doon goostli in the first bigynnyng.⁴³

Unlike Rolle's 'fleschely affeccions,' Hilton's 'manli affeccions' are not necessarily directed at worldly objects but can instead be directed at spiritual objects through an ascetic process of auto-affection 'at the biddynge of resoun.' By contemplating Christ's life, works, and passion, Hilton's spiritual beginners court God's assistance in transvaluating 'manli affeccions' into 'goostli affeccions.' As Minnis puts it, 'Hilton conceives of a transition rather than an enormous leap from "manly affeccion" [...] to the "ghostly affeccion" [...] with which the soul, as far as it may in this life, contemplates the Godhead united to manhood in Christ.'⁴⁴

Medieval England's most famous anchoress, Julian of Norwich, was likely steeped in Middle English devotional literature, but only uses *affeccion* a few select times in her own writing. Interestingly, given her reputation for positivity and optimism, her uses of *affeccion* tend to be pejorative. For example, in the famous passage (extant in both her Short Text and Long Text) in which Jesus assures her that '[s]inne is behovely, but alle shalle be wele, and alle shalle be wele, and alle maner of thinge shalle be wel,' Julian expresses her belief that sinners (it is unclear whether she means all sinners, or just the elect) will be purified ('noughted') of 'dedly flesh, and alle oure inwarde affections which be not very good.'⁴⁵ Of course, Julian's characteristically optimistic statement implies that *some* inward affections (though not those with which she is concerned here) *are* very good, which accords with her descriptions of heavenly affect as an eternal commingling of love and dread of God.⁴⁶ Likewise, her account of Christ promising her 'I shall al tobreke you for your veyn affections and your vicious pryde' implies an understanding of *affeccion* as morally ambivalent.⁴⁷ It is tempting to imagine that Julian's tendency to use *affeccions* to describe spiritually deleterious desires and loves is due to the influence of *Ancrene Wisse*, but such hunches are speculative. Moreover, as is the case with *Ancrene Wisse*, Julian's pejorative uses of *affeccion* should not mislead us to suppose that she endorsed an unemotional understanding of Christian asceticism: she constantly uses emotion words including *blisse*, *drede*, *luf*, and *compassion* to describe salutary spiritual experience. More compelling is the dissonance between a defensive concluding note in one manuscript of Julian's writings (British Library MS Sloane 2499), whose author (probably not Julian herself) warns 'beware thou take not on thing after thy affection and liking and leve another, for that is the condition of a heretique,'⁴⁸ and the prologue to *The Orchard of Syon* (a Middle English translation of Catherine of Siena's *Dialogo*), which invites readers 'to

assaye & serch þe hool orchard [i.e., the text], and taste of sich fruyt and herbis reasonably aftir 3oure affeccioun, & what 3ou likeþ best, afterward þerof for heelp of 3oure soule.⁴⁹ Although both texts caution the reader to take the text in its entirety, *The Orchard* is much more permissive of readers engaging in selective reading driven by personal *affeccioun* thereafter.⁵⁰

The spiritual biography of Julian's more itinerate contemporary Margery Kempe employs the term *affeccioun* more frequently and ambivalently than Julian. *The Book of Margery Kempe* most often uses *affeccioun* to mean a general good will closely resembling love, frequently pairing *affeccioun* and *love* in lists that thereby suggest that its author considered the terms not directly synonymous, but closely related. In one such passage, Christ directly instructs Margery to direct all of her love and affection to him: 'owr Lord spak and dalyid to hyr sowle, techyng hyr how sche schuld be despysed for hys lofe, how sche schuld han pacyens, setting all hyr trost, alle hyr lofe, and alle hyr affeccyon in hym only.'⁵¹ Like Rolle's writings, Margery's *Book* frequently modifies *affeccioun* with moralizing adjectives both positive (such as *gostly*)⁵² and negative (such as *fleschly* or *erdly*).⁵³ Indeed, the *Book's* narratorial voice and Christ himself repeatedly commend Margery for directing all of her affections heavenward and eschewing all fleshly or earthly affections.⁵⁴ Many critics have noted the hagiographic flavour of *The Book of Margery Kempe*, which often seems to set up Margery as an example to be emulated by readers even as it narrates Margery measuring herself against hagiographic examples.⁵⁵ In this light, the *Book's* account of Margery's exemplary *affeccioun* is intended to influence the emotional practices of its readers, just as Margery is influenced by examples of holy women such as Birgitta of Sweden. Indeed, hagiography frequently advertises itself as both the product and the producer of exemplary *affeccioun*, as when Osbern Bokenham relates that he translated his hagiography of Saint Margery for two reasons: first 'to excyte/ Mennys affeccyon to haue delyte/ Thys blyssyd virgyne to loue & serue,'⁵⁶ and secondly to answer 'the inportune and besy preyere/ Of oon whom I loue wyth herte entere,/ Wych that hath a synguler deuocyoun/ To thys virgyne of pure affeccyon.'⁵⁷

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, a fringe group of dissident Christians commonly called Wycliffites or Lollards employed Middle English to disseminate vehement critiques of the institutional church. *Affeccioun* appears quite frequently in Middle English Lollard writings: in her select concordance of some 400 Wycliffite texts, Laurie Ringer lists 64 occurrences of *affeccioun*.⁵⁸ A surprising number of these passages refer to a long tradition (stretching back at least to Augustine's exegesis of John) that considers affections the feet of the soul, as in the following account of the remedy for vainglory taken from a Lollard sermon: 'Þe best remedie a3eyn þe net of veynglorie is first to

prey God hertily þat þi fote (þat is, þe affeccion of þi soule) be neuer taken wiþ þis nett of veynglorie.⁵⁹ Other Lollard texts offer short lists of the affections (containing joy, hope, sorrow, and fear) akin to that of Trevisa's above-cited taxonomy.⁶⁰ Still others polemically attack corrupt church officials. For example, a passage in *On the Twenty-five Articles* accuses 'popis and prelatis' of being led by 'fleschli affeccions and covetise' to miscanonize rich men,⁶¹ and another in *On the Seven Deadly Sins* insinuates that members of the holy orders are wont to abandon charity in order to defend their brethren out of 'personel affeccioun.'⁶² Finally, Lollard authors sometimes employed *affeccioun* in the service of their critique of images, such as when the Lollard author of a Middle English translation of the *Rosarium theologie* criticizes those who have more affection for images than for scripture or holy doctrine.⁶³ Despite Lollardy's vested interest in *affeccioun*, there is no evidence that the term came to be associated with heterodoxy. Indeed, defenders of the institutional Church frequently employed *affeccioun* for their own ends, such as when the author of the early fifteenth-century Middle English text *Dives and Pauper* defends the usefulness of images, which 'steryn mannys affeccioun and his herte to deuocioun, for often man is more steryd by syghte þan by herynge or reddyng.'⁶⁴ Moreover, many of the more pastoral uses to which Lollard authors put *affeccioun* are not dissimilar to those of their orthodox opponents. For example, the aforementioned *Orcherd of Syon* also describes *affeccioun* as 'þe feet of þe soule.'⁶⁵

As we have seen, *affeccioun* was employed in a wide variety of Middle English devotional writings, often to differentiate between holy and sinful forms of loving desire and to instruct audiences how to cultivate the former and avoid the latter. The many different ends to which Middle English devotional authors employ *affeccioun* requires more attention than space here permits. Such attention might have significant implications for our approach to studying emotional devotion in late medieval England. For one thing, it might lead us to add to the term 'affective piety'—frequently used as a sort of blanket term for a widespread medieval European devotional tradition whose aim, as Clarissa W. Atkinson puts it, 'was not so much to teach doctrine or offer formal worship as to move the heart of the believer'⁶⁶—more specified terms including 'affectionate piety,' 'compassionate piety,' and 'dreadful piety' in an effort to develop a more nuanced understanding of late medieval Christianity's myriad, always overlapping and interacting forms of emotional devotion.

Notes

- 1 'emotion, n.,' 3a and 3b, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2017), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/61249?rskey=5vLRfM&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (accessed November 08, 2017); hereafter OED Online.

- 2 For a discussion of ‘emotionology’ as ‘the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains towards basic emotions and their appropriate expression,’ see Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, ‘Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards,’ *The American Historical Review* 90.4 (1985) 813–836.
- 3 For a thorough study of Middle English words for emotion and emotions, see Hans-Jürgen Diller, *Words for Feelings: Studies in the History of the English Emotion Lexicon* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2014).
- 4 Stephanie Downes and Rebecca F. McNamara, ‘The History of Emotions and Middle English Literature,’ *Literature Compass* 13.6 (2016), 444–456 (see especially 445).
- 5 Diller, *Words for Feelings*, 368.
- 6 ‘affeccioun, n.,’ *Middle English Dictionary Online* (Regents of the University of Michigan, 2014), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=2022310&egdisplay=open&egs=2039445&egs=2025213> (accessed November 08, 2017); hereafter ‘affeccioun, n.,’ MED.
- 7 John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation of Bartholomæus Anglicus De proprietatibus rerum*, Vol. 1, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975), 96, l.5; and the corresponding passage in Bartolomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (Petrus Ungarus, 1482), 25. <https://archive.org/stream/depropriatibu00anglgoog#page/n24/mode/2up/search/triplex> (accessed November 08, 2017). Bartolmaeus’s taxonomy resembles Cicero’s four-part taxonomy of the passions, which is echoed by Augustine: see Johannes Brachtendorf, ‘Cicero and Augustine on the Passions,’ *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 43 (1997): 289–308.
- 8 Anselm of Canterbury influentially defines *affectiones* as aptitudes of the will in *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio*, in *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 2, ed. Franciscus S. Schmitt (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946), 245–288 (see especially, 279, l.9). On scholasticism’s discourse on affection, see the chapters by Jonathan Teubner, Michael Barbezat, and Robert Miner in this volume.
- 9 Thomas Usk, *The Testament of Love*, ed. R. Allen Shoaf (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988), Book III, lines 623–624 (<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/shoaf-usk-the-testament-of-love>). For a discussion of Usk’s appropriation of Anselm’s doctrine of affection, see J. Allan Mitchell, *Ethics and Eventfulness in Middle English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 57–61.
- 10 *Dan Michel’s Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience*, ed. Richard Morris, rev. Pamela Gradon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 151.
- 11 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), 312, l.728. Here, Chaucer seems to be translating the following line from a Latin confession manual: ‘Fortitudo est affectio qua omnia incommoda contempnimus’ (*Summa virtutum de remediis anime*, ed. Siegfried Wenzel [Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1984], 19).
- 12 ‘affection, n.,’ OED Online, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/3344?rskey=QHjeE0&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> (accessed November 08, 2017).
- 13 *Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum*, Vol. 1, ed. Albert Way (London: Sumptibus Societatis Camdenensis, 1843–1865), 7.
- 14 Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, 225, l.1249.
- 15 ‘affeccioun, n.,’ MED.
- 16 Stephen Scrope, *The Epistle of Othea*, ed. Curt F. Bühler (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 70. See also Halina Didycky Loukopoulos, *Classical Mythology in the Works of Christine de Pisan, with an Edition of*

- L'Épître d'Othéa from the Manuscript Harley 4431 (PhD diss., Wayne State University, 1977; ProQuest Dissertations Publishing [7805201]), 231.
- 17 See, for example, Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things*, 96; and the corresponding passage in Bartolomeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, 25.
- 18 See, for example, 'affeccioun, n.,' MED, def. 1, ex. 4 (Trevisa translating Bartolomeus Anglicus's *affectus* as *affeciouns*) and def. 2a, ex. 5 (Trevisa translating Bartolomeus Anglicus's *motu* as *affeccioun*).
- 19 'affeccioun, n.,' def. 2b. MED; see also 'talent, n.,' defs 2 and 3. For *affecioun* as love, see MED, 'affeccioun, n.,' def. 2c. For example, in Book I, Prose 1, Boethius uses the phrase 'infructosis affectuum spinis' (Boethius, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii philosophiae consolatio*, ed. Ludwig Bieler [Turnhout: Brepols, 1957], 2), which Chaucer renders 'with thornes and prikynges of talentz and affecions' (Chaucer, *Boece*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 398) and Walton renders '[w]ip thornes of [...] foule affeccioun' (John Walton, *Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae Translated by John Walton, Canon of Osney*, ed. Mark Science [New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971], 18).
- 20 These quotes are taken from the 'early version' of the Middle English Bible (c. 1382).
- 21 *Prik of Conscience*, ed. James H. Morley (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications), Part IV, lines 409, 418; <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/morey-prik-of-conscience>.
- 22 *Prik of Conscience*, Part VII, line 1257.
- 23 For a detailed discussion of the emotional dynamics of *The Wooing of Our Lord*, see Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 25–57.
- 24 *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Robert Hasenfratz (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications), Part 4, lines 1333–1357; <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/hasenfratz-ancrene-wisse> (accessed November 08, 2017).
- 25 *Ancrene Wisse*, lines 1343–1346.
- 26 *Anchoretic Spirituality: Ancrene Wise and Associated Works*, trans. Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 153.
- 27 *Ancrene Wisse*, line 1347.
- 28 *Anchoretic Spirituality*, 153.
- 29 Marsha Lynn Dutton Stuckey, *An Edition of Two Middle English Translations of Aelred's De institutione inclusorum* (PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 1981; ProQuest Dissertations Publishing [8116344]), 259, 456.
- 30 Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 61.
- 31 Richard Rolle, *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole*, ed. George G. Perry (London: N. Trübner & co., 1921), 13.
- 32 Richard Rolle, *The Form of Perfect Living* (MS Rawlinson C 285), in *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church and his Followers*, ed. Carl Horstmann (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895), 36.
- 33 Rolle, *The Form of Perfect Living*, 37.
- 34 Rolle, *The Form of Perfect Living*, 21.
- 35 Rolle, *Encomium nominis Iesu* (MS Thornton, fol. 192), in *Yorkshire Writers*, 188.
- 36 Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, 263, l. 74.
- 37 Stuckey, *An Edition of Two Middle English Translations of Aelred*, 138, lines 678, 680–681, 690.

- 38 *The Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997) lines 702–703; <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/gallacher-the-cloud-of-unknowing> (accessed November 08, 2017).
- 39 *The Cloud of Unknowing*, lines 290–293.
- 40 *The Cloud of Unknowing*, lines 2318–2319.
- 41 *The Cloud of Unknowing*, lines 457–458; Alastair Minnis, ‘Affection and Imagination in *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*,’ *Traditio* 39 (1983): 323–366 (especially 324–350).
- 42 Minnis, ‘Affection and Imagination,’ 351.
- 43 Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. Thomas H. Bestul (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), lines 2458–2466; <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/bestul-hilton-scale-of-perfection> (accessed November 08, 2017).
- 44 Minnis, ‘Affection and Imagination,’ 358.
- 45 Julian of Norwich, *The Writings of Julian of Norwich: A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman and A Revelation of Love*, ed. Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 91.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 361.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 213.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 415.
- 49 *The Orchard of Syon*, Vol. 1, ed. Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 1.
- 50 For a detailed comparison of these two passages, see *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans (University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1999), 212–215. The editors argue that both the note in *The Orchard*’s Prologue and the concluding note in the Sloane manuscript of Julian’s writings respond (albeit differently) to Anselm of Canterbury’s prologue to his *Prayers and Meditations*.
- 51 *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry Windeatt (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2004), 44.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 322.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 285.
- 54 See, for example, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 167.
- 55 See, for example, Gwenfair Walters Adams, *Visions in Late Medieval England: Lay Spirituality and Sacred Glimpses of the Hidden Worlds of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 85–89.
- 56 Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 4.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 58 Laurie Ringer, *A Select Concordance of Some 400 Middle English Texts: A Study of Wycliffite Discourse with Particular Discussion of the Issues of Contemporary Poverty, Pious Practice, Substantive Law, and Anticlerical Style* (PhD diss., University of Hull, 2007; ProQuest Dissertations Publishing [U523238]), 222–225.
- 59 *Lollard Sermons*, ed. Gloria Cigman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 156.
- 60 See, for example, *The Lanterne of Light*, ed. Lilian M. Swinburn (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971), 29; see also *Lollard Sermons*, 40.
- 61 John Wycliffe, *On the Twenty-Five Articles*, in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, Vol. 3, ed. Thomas Arnold (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1871), 467.

- 62 Wycliffe, *On the Seven Deadly Sins*, in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, 3:130–131.
- 63 *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium theologie*, ed. Christine von Nolcken (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), 99–101.
- 64 *Dives and Pauper*, Vol. 1, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 82.
- 65 *The Orchard of Syon*, Vol. 1, 116, lines 29–30. For a prolonged discussion of the extensive medieval tradition of describing the *affectus* as the feet of the soul, see Vincent Gillespie, ‘Mystic’s Foot: Rolle and Affectivity,’ in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1982), 199–230.
- 66 Clarissa W. Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and World of Margery Kempe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 192.

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13 The Renaissance of *affectus*? Biblical Humanism and Latin Style

Kirk Essary

‘There is no difference between *affectio* and *affectus*, except that Cicero liked the former and Quintilian the latter.’¹ Thus Erasmus of Rotterdam, the prolific and widely influential Dutch humanist, reflects upon the relationship between two key Latin emotion terms in a 1530 letter to his friend Peter Gilles. The letter to Gilles was written in the context of the publication of one of several *apologiae* Erasmus wrote in defence of one of his most important works, the very first printed edition of the Greek New Testament with a fresh Latin translation in parallel columns (originally published in 1516 and revised in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535). The letter itself contains a defense of the use of *affectus* in his Latin translation of the New Testament, a choice that had come under attack by the Flemish Franciscan Francis Titelmans in a 1529 work criticizing Erasmus’s *Novum Testamentum*.² The Vulgate does not use *affectus* in the New Testament, while Erasmus uses it over a dozen times, and so a Vulgate purist like Titelmans would have had ample opportunity for criticism.³ Moreover, the fact that Erasmus never follows the Vulgate when it reads either *affectio* (3 times) or *passio* (18 times), while he otherwise retains some 60% of the Vulgate’s words overall in the 1535 edition (per de Jonge⁴), indicates that Erasmus embraced a different emotional lexicon when compared with his predecessor(s).⁵ It also belies his claim that there is *no* difference (*nihil interest*) between *affectio* and *affectus*.

Appended to Erasmus’s New Testament from the first edition was a series of *Annotationes*, explanations of varying length of why he chose in particular instances to flout the long-regnant Vulgate version. The explanations are in the main philological, detailing how the earlier translator had erred in his rendering the Greek into Latin, or explaining how his own choices are stylistically superior and reflect better classical usage. At Romans 1:31, for example, where Paul had used the Greek word ἀστόργος, which means broadly ‘without feeling’—and which may also denote a particular absence of feelings associated with natural bonds between people, as in the natural bond between parent and child—the Vulgate reads *sine affectione*. Erasmus, however, modified the verse to read *alieni a charitatis affectu*, thus choosing *affectus* over

affectio, and identifying more explicitly the natural feeling or quality of love. Turning to the *Annotationes* in hopes of a satisfactory explanation for his decision, we are simultaneously disappointed and surprised: ‘I shall not, by the way, go into detail over the Translator’s use of *affectio* for *affectus*, although there is a great difference between them’⁶—disappointed because Erasmus is holding out on us (not anticipating, perhaps, that we would be publishing a collected volume on this ‘great difference’ 500 years later); surprised because what was a ‘great difference’ (*multum intersit*) in 1516 became ‘no difference’ (*nihil interest*) in 1530. Thankfully, Erasmus wrote a lot more about *affectus*, in the context of his critical work on the New Testament and elsewhere, and he used the term in his vast corpus almost to the exclusion of *affectio*. In this, he was not alone or novel among humanists in the early modern era. It is the purpose of this essay to briefly situate Erasmus among his own purported rhetorical forebears—specifically Quintilian, Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), and Rudolph Agricola (1443–1485)—in the context of the humanist usage of *affectus* and *affectio*. Doing so will not only help us to understand the seemingly disparate claims Erasmus himself makes about *affectus/affectio*, but will also provide insight into the emotional lexicons of some prominent voices for Latin style in the Renaissance.

The Classical and Quattrocento Background: Quintilian, Valla, and Agricola

The easy explanation for why Erasmus prefers *affectus* to *affectio* is, as he says, because it pleased Quintilian. When Erasmus considers the role of the emotions in his major rhetorical works, such as *De copia* and the *Ecclesiastes*, he channels Quintilian almost to the exclusion of Cicero, relying heavily on the *Institutio Oratoria*, which had been rediscovered by Poggio Bracciolini in 1416 and by Erasmus’s time had appeared in multiple printed editions. While Erasmus was no enemy of Cicero, it is also not irrelevant to point out that he *was* an enemy of those Renaissance stylists he deemed ‘Ciceronian apes’ who argued that the only appropriate vocabulary for good Latin style must be found in Cicero’s works. In other words, although he does not say so explicitly, Erasmus’s eschewing of *affectio* for *affectus* may have had something to do with his antipathy to the Ciceronian rigorists. This is quite non-specific, however, and in fact Erasmus was working within a longer humanist tradition that both preferred *affectus* and appealed to the difference in usage between the two great theorists of rhetoric from ancient Rome.

In 1449, Valla (who had also written annotations on the New Testament critical of the Vulgate translation⁷) published his *Elegantiarum linguae Latinae*, an expansive handbook for Latin style that would enjoy wide circulation both in manuscript and in print well into the following century. It is a substantial and wide-ranging work that deals

with syntax, style, and vocabulary. It also contains a subchapter entitled *De Affectus, Affectio, & Affectatio*, which begins, ‘*Affectus* is nowhere to be found in Cicero. *Affectio* [is to be found] most regularly. It is the opposite in Quintilian: most frequently *affectus*; rarely *affectio*.’⁸ He reiterates the latter point in the epitome of the chapter that it is permissible (in good Latin style, that is) *not* to use *affectio*, citing ‘Quintil. & caeteros.’⁹

A bit further on, Valla gives a slightly modified definition of *affectio* from Cicero’s *De inventione* (treated at length by Rita Copeland in this volume): ‘*Affectio* is a temporary change of the body or soul from some cause,’ he writes, examples of which include joy, desire, fear, disease, lameness, *et alia*.¹⁰ Ultimately, Valla implies that Cicero’s *affectio* signifies a general power of the soul (*virtus animi*), distinguishing it from *affectus*, ‘which the Greeks call *pathe*’ (and which Cicero calls a *perturbatio*).¹¹ Quintilian, Valla continues, is not the first or only writer to use *affectus* for πάθη, for the term is also found in Seneca, Pliny, Rutilius, Columella, Livy, and others. Valla refers here to Book VI of Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*, where Quintilian writes that there are two types (*species*) of *affectus*: what the Greeks call *pathos*, which is ‘rightly and properly expressed in Latin by *affectus*,’¹² and the other which they call *ethos*, a word which Quintilian says has no proper equivalent in Latin. This distinction has a rich history in the early modern era, and we will see it appear in Erasmus below.¹³ Generally, Valla’s task is to define *affectus/affectio* based on the definitions given primarily by Cicero and to explain (briefly) how ancient authors used the terms. In that context, *affectus* and *affectio* together comprise everything in the soul apart from reason and memory.¹⁴ Valla’s interests are in circumscribing what *affectus/affectio* represent in the context of faculty psychology (and in the history of Latin usage), and he does not express a strong preference for *affectus* over *affectio* as the preferred emotion term.¹⁵

Elsewhere, however, Valla not only argued for the superiority of Quintilian over Cicero more generally, but as a keen-eyed student of the history of Latin semantics of feeling, he was more than willing to criticize his contemporaries for their shortcomings in classicism.¹⁶ Somewhat ironically, while Valla took advantage of Poggio’s discovery of Quintilian, a few years later Poggio would criticize Valla’s privileging of Quintilian over Christian ecclesiastical authors in terms of Latin usage.¹⁷ What becomes clear in this exchange—and it will be repeated by Agricola and Erasmus—is that the late-antique and medieval word *passio* is a problematic invention and should be replaced by *affectus* or *affectio*. Indeed, as part of a rather extensive back and forth about the propriety of appeals to classical authority for Latin usage, Valla responded to Poggio’s attack with the *Antidoti in Pogium*, where he criticizes the elder Italian’s use of the neologism *passio*: ‘It seems you wish to marshal Cicero against me, when (as elsewhere), you do not imitate

him in his vocabulary.’¹⁸ For Cicero, Valla points out, uses *perturbatio* but not *passio*; moreover, Pliny, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, and Macrobius do not use *passio* either, but instead they use *affectus* or *affectio*. Even Jerome, when translating the Greek πάθος, denies the legitimacy of *passio* in Latin, Valla points out, although it seems he preferred *perturbatio*. When not describing past usage, Valla himself seems to have preferred *affectus*, for he employs it repeatedly (and *affectio* not at all) in a section on emotions and virtue in the soul in his *Dialecticarum disputationum*.¹⁹

To suggest that *affectus* is the best translation of the Greek *pathos*, already mentioned in Valla’s recapitulation of Quintilian, would become a commonplace in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist texts, including dictionaries.²⁰ Rudolph Agricola—the Dutch humanist Erasmus credited with bringing humanism to northern Europe—was less interested in the differences between Quintilian and Cicero when he credited Cicero et al. with the use of *affectus* for πάθη in an unpublished work written (probably) in the mid-1470s.²¹ Agricola’s explanation of *affectus* occurs in a somewhat idiosyncratic text. In 1514, another Dutch humanist, Johannes Murmellius, published an edition of Boethius’ *De consolatione philosophiae* with a scholarly commentary.²² The work included a then-unpublished commentary on Boethius’s text by Agricola, which work (a manuscript in Agricola’s hand—*enarrationes autographas*) Murmellius had discovered while working in Münster a decade and a half earlier.²³ Relevant to our purposes is Agricola’s definition of *affectus* provided in the commentary, and his claim that its classical origins had been largely forgotten: ‘*Affectus* is what the Greeks call πάθος, and which our writers today—ignorant of Cicero and other authors of the Latin language—call *passiones animi*.’²⁴ Erasmus, too, in his *Annotationes* on the New Testament, would echo Agricola’s sentiment that *passio* was an unfortunate neologism,²⁵ but here we note, first, that (unlike Valla) Agricola attributes *affectus* to Cicero, and also that he offers a Ciceronian definition of a non-Ciceronian term, which distinguishes temporary emotions from affective habits of longer duration: ‘An *affectus* is a certain great movement of the soul, with a two-fold definition: if it endures, it loses the name *affectus* and is called a custom [*consuetudo*]. Thus anger is an *affectus*, while irascibility is an ingrained norm.’²⁶

More interesting, perhaps, is that while Agricola attributes the use of *affectus* broadly to Cicero and his colleagues, he seems ultimately to distinguish *affectus* from Cicero’s use of *affectio*: ‘*Affectio*, Cicero says, is every movement [*promotio*] not only of the soul, but also of the body, which is what our dialecticians call a disposition [*dispositio*].’²⁷ He gives further examples, distinguishing an *affectio* from a *habitus*:

Inasmuch as these are called a *habitus*, they would be better called a *consuetudo* or *usus* or *assuetudo*, so that a tremor would be the

affectio which arises from fear; and a tremor would be the *assuetudo* which is suffered in old age or disease.²⁸

If we can infer from Agricola's transition to *affectio* that he means to make a distinction between *affectio* and *affectus*, then the distinction is that *affectio* encompasses (and perhaps typifies) movements of the body that may or may not be related to emotions, while *affectus* more properly covers movements of the soul. That Agricola prefers *affectus* to *affectio* as the best general emotion term is clear from the relevant sections on emotions in his most famous work, the *De inventione dialectica*, finished in 1479. In that text, he only uses *affectus*, and he defines it as an *impetus animi*, by which we are either driven towards or away from something more vehemently than if we were in a quiet state of mind.²⁹

Erasmus Paraphrases Valla and Quintilian

What was a tendency to prefer *affectus* to *affectio* in Valla and Agricola became something of a principled position in Erasmus. There is no guarantee that Erasmus would have read Agricola's buried comments on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, and there is also no guarantee that he was influenced by the *De inventione dialectica*, for it was not printed until 1515, by Erasmus's colleague Martin Dorp at Louvain. Indeed, as Lisa Jardine has shown in her fascinating 'detective story,' Erasmus was likely less indebted to the work than he was responsible for its wide success (he had, for example, published his own enormously successful rhetoric, the *De copia*, already in 1512).³⁰ But we do know that Erasmus had read Valla's *Elegantiae* closely, for he published his own paraphrase of it in 1531, after an unapproved version of an epitome he had written when he was young (over 40 years earlier) had leaked in 1529.³¹ Erasmus's paraphrase of the section on *affectus* and *affectio* from the *Elegantiae* takes more than a few liberties. He starts honestly enough, reproducing Valla's definition that *affectus* or *affectio* 'is that part of the soul which is outside the province of reason.' From there, however, Erasmus's version is mostly his own creation.

Erasmus first divides the soul into three parts (in both a Thomist and Augustinian manner³²):

There are three parts to the soul, reason, the irascible power, and the concupiscible power; or, reason, the will, and memory. The will differs from the *affectus*, insofar as it is conjoined to reason ... Hence *affectus* is attributed to the lower part [of the soul].³³

Affectus, then, in Erasmus's paraphrase of Valla, is not a faculty of the soul, but occupies the lower part of it (in whatever scheme one prefers—and Erasmus here reveals his reticence to indulge in scholastic speculation

about the intricacies of faculty psychology). In terms of choosing *affectus* or *affectio* for good style, Erasmus has Valla clearly preferring *affectus*: 'The movements of the soul the Greeks call πάθη, while the Latins call them *morbos* or *cupiditates*, but most aptly *affectus*, whose genera are anger, pity, love, and hate, and especially fear, hope, grief, and joy.'³⁴

It is notable that Erasmus omits all the explicit Cicero references that had appeared in Valla's original (which is apparently a tendency in the *Paraphrase* as a whole).³⁵ Moreover, he sides with Quintilian in suggesting that *affectus* is the most suitable (*aptissime*) translation of the Greek term *pathe*, something Valla remained agnostic about in the *Elegantiae*. Erasmus also adds material to his paraphrase on the ancient philosophies of feeling: 'The one who lacks [these emotions] is called *apatheis*; and certain Stoics approve of *apatheia*. When we grieve at another's grief, it is called *sumpatheia*.'³⁶ When it comes to describing movements of the soul *and* the body, Erasmus, like Agricola, uses the term *affectiones*, and he also introduces into the *Paraphrase* the familiar Aristotelian distinction between an emotion and an affective habit: 'The lighter *affectiones* of the soul or the body are called *diatheseis* [i.e., dispositions/bodily conditions]. Infixed and hardly changeable are *hexeis*, that is, *habitus*, so that *ira* is the *affectio*, and *iracundia* the *habitus*.'³⁷ The retention of *affectio* here is notable, for elsewhere Erasmus would eschew it. The distinction reproduces not only the Greek terms of Aristotle, of course, but echoes both Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations* (where he uses *morbos* and *perturbationes*) and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (where he uses *commotio*).³⁸ We ought not to rely too heavily on Erasmus's *Paraphrase* of Valla, for—apart from its ostensible form as an epitome of someone else's thoughts—it represents a hasty revision of a very early work that Erasmus only published in response to a leaked version.³⁹ Nonetheless, the tendencies represented in it, and the ways in which Erasmus smooths over some of Valla's more detailed appreciation of Cicero's definitions of emotion terms, as well as his use of *affectio*, fit comfortably in with Erasmus's descriptions of emotion in his other works.⁴⁰

On multiple occasions, for example, Erasmus reproduces a version of Quintilian's distinction (from *Inst. Orat.* VI) between two types of *affectus*, which itself is an ingenious distortion of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. It is worth quoting from Erasmus's most comprehensive rhetorical handbook, the *Ecclesiastes*, at length:

It is generally agreed that there are two kinds of *affectus*, one gentler and more like those of comedy, the other more powerful and tragic, and nothing forbids positing a middle ground between these, as I see Quintilian did. The Greeks call the former ἡθῆ, the Latins *mores*. The Greeks call the latter πάθη; since the Latins did not devise a specific word for them, some misuse the name of a genus for a species and call them *affectus*, others *perturbationes* or *motus animi*, others

cupiditates, others *morbo*s. Yet neither ἥθος in Greek nor *mores* in Latin strictly speaking denotes what we mean here, inasmuch as ἥθη in Greek are the character on the basis of which we are said to be, and are, good or bad; but that word has been distorted both by them and by us for didactic purposes, so that it signifies the common and more moderate emotions [*affectus communes ac moderatiores*] by which everyone is affected because they are natural and that are recognized by everyone and cause delight rather than disturbance.⁴¹

Several things are noteworthy from Erasmus's paraphrase of Quintilian. First, Quintilian had actually written that πάθος is correctly expressed in Latin by *affectus*, while *ethos* has no Latin equivalent.⁴² Erasmus reverses the claim, suggesting that *mores* is perfectly viable as an equivalent to ἥθος, but that πάθος has various equivalencies. Second, while *mores* translates ἥθη well enough, it does not get the work done when discussing the *duplex genus* of *affectus*. Third, Erasmus makes no mention of either *affectio* or *passio*, two words in widespread usage. Erasmus thus continues to apply *affectus* (as Quintilian had) to both ἥθος and πάθος, rhetorical categories in Aristotle that have become in Quintilian's hands types of emotion or affective dispositions.

Erasmus *Contra* Titelmans: *Affectus* in the New Testament

To return where we began, it is now possible to consider the two disparate claims Erasmus made when comparing *affectus* and *affectio* with the benefit of the wider Renaissance rhetorical traditions he was participating in. In 1529, Titelmans published his *Collationes super Romanos*, which consisted of a lengthy defence of the Vulgate along with his detailed responses to earlier humanist commentators on the text, specifically Valla, Lefèvre d'Étaples, and Erasmus. While Titelmans responds to Erasmus's *Annotations* on Romans 1 (albeit very briefly on verse 1:31), it is Erasmus's modification of three instances in Romans 8 to include the word *affectus* that garners the most attention from Titelmans.⁴³ This prompted Erasmus to respond to Titelmans' criticism both with the curmudgeonly entitled *Responsio ad Collationes cuiusdam iuvenis gerontodidascali* (Response to the Discussion of a Certain 'Youth Who Would Teach His Elders'), and at length in the 1530 letter to Gilles.

In the letter to Gilles, Erasmus writes that he wanted to provide Gilles with a 'specimen' from Titelmans' treatise in order to demonstrate how much of a waste of paper it was:

At Romans chapter 8 the Old Translator had rendered the Greek φρονῆμα by *quid desideret spiritus* "what the Spirit desires". I do

not challenge this, but I suggest a more apt expression, *sensus* or *affectus spiritus* “the ‘sentiments’ or ‘feelings’ of the spirit.”⁴⁴

Titelmans responds to Erasmus by arguing that ‘*sensus* and *affectus* are words more rude (*crassiora*) than what should be attributed to the Spirit, who is not privy to bodily perturbations.’⁴⁵ He argues repeatedly that the Greek φρονῆμα refers more properly *ad intellectam* than *ad affectum*.⁴⁶ In his *Responsio* to Titelmans, Erasmus rejects the firm dichotomy: ‘It is no surprise that commentators include both [*intellectus* and *affectus*] in the words they use since the realities are interrelated; for a corrupt emotion is born from the most part from corrupt understanding and vice versa.’⁴⁷ In the letter to Gilles, Erasmus also roundly rejects Titelmans’ understanding of *affectus* as only describing affective operations in the lower part of the soul, or in the body, and his response is interesting for its delineation of *affectus* and *perturbationes*. He writes of Titelmans:

He had heard perhaps that the stricter Stoics condemned the *pathe*, which some translate as *affectus* or *perturbationes*. But it does not immediately follow that *perturbationes animi* is the only meaning of *affectus*, since Latin writers, in trying as best they can to convey the thought of the Stoics, have translated *pathe* by *affectus*, *motus*, *perturbationes*, *cupiditates*, and *morbi*.

Erasmus, in other words, understands *affectus* (as we have seen above) to encompass not only the problematic emotions, but pious feelings as well.

He expands upon this in the letter by enumerating examples from the biblical text that contravene Stoic *apatheia* and thereby Titelmans’ conception of *affectus*:

Nowadays anyone who chose to stand stubbornly by the Stoic doctrine of *apatheia* would even be considered a heretic. For joy, grief, hope, fear, love, hate, benevolence, pity are unquestionably *affectus*, and yet throughout the sacred writings they are used of men living not just according to the flesh but according to the spirit, they are also used of Christ, indeed they are even used of the divine nature ... Do we not read in the Gospel that the Lord exulted in spirit, shouted in anger, wept, was indignant and moved to pity? And the word *affectus* encompasses all these *animi motus*—unless my critic accepts the species while rejecting the genus, in spite of logic! And are not joy and love attributed to the angels, even though they are incorporeal?⁴⁸

Erasmus rejects Titelmans’ narrow definition of *affectus* as a kind of emotion inhabiting the lower aspect of the soul, and comfortably attributes it to Christ and the incorporeal angels.⁴⁹ Anticipating the response that Christ (or God, or the angels) experiences emotion differently—that

is, sinlessly—from the rest of us, he writes nevertheless that ‘just as in a human being there are two kinds of will, one good, one bad, so there are two kinds of *affectus*, good and bad, spiritual and carnal.’⁵⁰ The *duplex affectus*, which in a rhetorical context Erasmus adapts from Quintilian, now takes on a more specific moral valence: the two kinds of *affectus* are not only mapped onto Aristotelian rhetorical categories of ἡθός and πάθος, but Quintilian is baptized, so to speak, so that the *duplex affectus* is *bonos et males, spirituales et carnales*.⁵¹

The last point of interest from the letter is the line we opened this essay with. Erasmus wonders whether Titelmans is ‘in his right mind,’ for ‘He rejects the word *affectus* and then a little later writes: “It is a pious *affectio* towards God that teaches us to speak.” But there is no difference between *affectio* and *affectus*, except that Cicero liked the former and Quintilian the latter.’ There is a further qualification, however: ‘But if there is a difference,’ Erasmus continues,

it is that *affectio* is a more crass word than *affectus*. For *affectio*, it would seem, apart from being a more temporary movement of the soul, pertains more to the body than *affectus*. Thus a distress to the body is called an *affectio*, such as thirst or hunger.⁵²

For Erasmus in 1530, *affectus* more properly marks out the emotions, or affections of the soul, while *affectio* indicates a lower (*crassior*) movement of the soul, or even a distress of the body. Overall, Erasmus’s responses to Titelmans indicate that *affectus* is far and away his preferred term for emotions and other affective dispositions of the soul, and also that he understood it to have no inherent moral valence but could include both spiritual and carnal emotions. Importantly, it is used to describe longer-lasting affective dispositions that are both (more or less) universal in humans, and also often pious. To the extent that he does offer a distinction between *affectus* and *affectio*, it is that the latter term pertains more to the lower aspects of the soul and to bodily states. Erasmus’s hedging about the differences between *affectus* and *affectio*, moreover, can perhaps be explained through appreciating the rhetorical contexts of each instance: when he claims there is a great difference, it comes in the high-stakes context of retranslating the New Testament where every choice he made came under serious scrutiny; when he claims there is no difference, it is to score rhetorical points against one of those scrutinizers.

Notes

1 Ep. 2260 to Peter Gilles, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 16, ed. and trans. Alexander Dalzell and James Estes (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 156 (hereafter CWE).

2 For more on this episode, see below and also Kirk Essary, ‘Annotating the Affections: The Philology of Feeling in Erasmus’ New Testament

- Scholarship and Its Reception in Early Modern Dictionaries,' *Erasmus Studies* 37:2 (2017), 193–216. On the distinction between these terms in general, see Michael Champion, Raphaële Garrod, Yasmin Haskell, and Juanita Feros Ruys, 'But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,' *Rivista storica italiana* 128:2 (2016): 521–543.
- 3 The Vulgate uses *affectus* once in the Old Testament, at Ps. 72:7.
 - 4 H. J. de Jonge, 'Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament: Aim and Method,' *The Bible Translator* 67:1 (2016), 33.
 - 5 Erasmus did not think the Vulgate New Testament was the complete work of Jerome, but of a less skilled anonymous translator.
 - 6 Erasmus, *Annotations on Romans* 1:31; CWE 56:64.
 - 7 Erasmus first published Valla's *Adnotationes in latini Novi Testamenti* in 1505 at Paris.
 - 8 Valla, *Elegantiae*, in *Opera Omnia*, I, ed. Eugenio Garin (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmio, 1962), 147–148 (translations are my own unless otherwise indicated): 'Affectum nusquam videor reperisse apud M. Tullium, frequentissime affectionem. Contra apud Quintil. frequentissime affectum; raro affectionem.'
 - 9 Ibid., 147: 'Licet affectio apud eundem non legatur, sicut apud Quintil. et caeteros.'
 - 10 Ibid.: 'Affectio est animi et corporis ex tempore aliqua de causa mutatio, ut laetitia, cupiditas, metus, molestia, morbus, debilitas, et alia.'
 - 11 Ibid., 148: 'Voluntatem hominis affecti ad virtutem, atque ipsam virtutem animi appellari affectionem ait, qualis non est affectus qui Graece dicitur *pathos*. Quod ipse Cice. interpretatur perturbationem, malens dicere quam morbum, quo nomine saepissime utitur.'
 - 12 Ibid.: 'Ita enim ille ait, quod Graeci vocant *pathos*, nos vertentes et recte et proprie affectum dicimur' (Valla recites this line from Quintilian).
 - 13 See further Essary and Haskell, 'Calm and Violent Passions: The Genealogy of a Distinction from Quintilian to Hume,' *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 3:1 (2018): 55–81.
 - 14 Valla, *Opera Omnia*, I:148: 'Est autem affectio animi et corporis ex tempore aliqua de causa mutatio, vel ut auctori placet, pars illa anime qualitatis quae e regione rationis est, quicquid enim in anima praeter partem illam memoriae non est, affectus est, et rursus quicquid non affectus, ratio.'
 - 15 It may be noted that in the section of the *Elegantiae* on 'words ending in *-osus*,' Valla uses *affectus* to describe lovers of wine, women, and mutiny: 'Vinosus, mulierosus, libidinosus, seditiosus, factitiosus, quod affectus est ad haec, et amat vinum, mulieres, libidinem, seditiones, factiones' (Valla, *Opera Omnia* I:148).
 - 16 In 1426, he made the argument in his *Comparatio Ciceronis Quintilianique*.
 - 17 On the Quattrocento development of criticism of Latin style with reference to antiquity, see Martin McLaughlin, 'Humanist Criticism of Latin and Vernacular Prose,' in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism (Latin and Vernacular in Italian Literary Theory)*, Vol. VI, ed. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 648–665. See also John Monfasani, 'Episodes of Anti-Quintilianism in the Italian Renaissance: Quarrels on the Orator as a *Vir Bonus* and Rhetoric as the *Scientia Bene Dicendi*,' *Rhetorica* 10 (1992): 119–38.
 - 18 Valla, *Antidoti in Pogium*, Lib. III; *Opera Omnia*, I:517: 'Pog. Ducuntur enim sapius in actionibus suis aliqua passione pergrave, quae illos seducat a recta sententia. Lau. Ciceronem volebas videri contra me defendere, quem, ut in aliis, ita nunc non imitaris in hoc vocabulo. Is enim ait: dicendum

esse perturbationem, non morbum, sive passionem. Defendis item, si tibi credimus, Plinium, Quintilianum, Aul. Gellium, Macrobius, Iurisconsultos. At hi non passionem dicunt, sed vel affectum, vel affectionem. Defendis Hieronymum, at is negat dici posse latine passione ... super Danielam, Quod Graeci vocant *pathos* nos perturbationem, quam passionem rectius interpretamur. Et super Isaias: Ebrietas omnes in se vitiorum continet passiones, quas latino sermone perturbationes possumus dicere, quod statum mentis evertant, et ebrios faciant nescire quid agant.'

19 Valla, *Opera Omnia*, I: 663–664.

20 See Essary, 'Passions, Affections, or Emotions? On the Ambiguity of 16th Century Terminology,' in *Emotion Review* 9:4 (2017), 367–374.

21 It should be noted that Augustine writes that *pathos* is translated both by *affectus* and *affectio* at *De civitate Dei*, IX.4, which would also have been widely known in the medieval and early modern periods.

22 Murmellius, like Erasmus, had studied under Alexander Hegius at the Latin school at Deventer, and Hegius, in turn, was, according to Erasmus at least, taught by Agricola.

23 For information on Murmellius's commentary and his use of Agricola, see Lodi Nauta, 'A Humanist Reading of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*: The Commentary by Murmellius and Agricola (1514),' in *Between Demonstration and Imagination: Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy Presented to John D. North*, ed. Lodi Nauta and Arjo Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 313–338.

24 D. Severini *Boethii Viri Illustris, de consolatione philosophiae libri quinque, luculentissimis Iohannis Murmellii (partim etiam Rodolphi Agricolae)* (Cologne, 1535), fol. 91: 'Affectus dicitur id, quod graeci vocant *pathos*, quod nostrae hodie ignari Ciceronis et aliorum autorum latine loquentium, passiones animi vocant.'

25 See *Annotations on Romans*, CWE 56:56.

26 Ibid., fol. 91: 'Est autem affectus maior quaedam animi motus, definiens tandem, nam si duret, iam nomen affectus amittit, et consuetudo dicent. Itaque ira affectus est, iracundia vero assuetudo.'

27 Ibid., fol. 91: 'affectionem autem Cicero vocat omnem promotionem non animi solum, sed et corporis, id quod dialectici nostri dispositionem vocant.' This last bit echoes Valla's *Elegantiae*: 'affectio graece *pathos*, dicitur quam nostrates philosophi in latinum vertentes appellant dispositionem' (*Opera Omnia* I:148).

28 Ibid., fol. 91: 'quemadmodum quod illi habitum vocant, melius consuetudinem vel usum vel assuetudinem vocarent, ut sit affectio tremor, quod ex metu provenit; assuetudo vero tremor, quod ex senio vel morbo relictus.'

29 Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* (Paris, 1538), fol. 184: 'Affectus autem mihi non aliud videtur esse, quam impetus quidam animi, quo ad appetendum aversandumve aliquid vehementius quam pro quieto statu mentis impellimur.'

30 See Ch. 3 in Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

31 For details, see the introduction to the Latin text of the *Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laur. Vallae* in Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1969–) I–V. (Hereafter, the Amsterdam series is cited as ASD.) For Erasmus's frustration at the 'sinister' unauthorized version and explanation of the circumstances of publication, see Ep. 2260.

32 In the original version, or in the unauthorized version if it was corrupt, there is a section that divides the soul into three parts: *ratio*, *memoria*, *affectus* (see ASD I–V, 219).

- 33 ASD I–V, 219: ‘Tres enim sunt animi partes, ratio, vis irascendi, vis concupiscendi, sive ratio, voluntas e memoria. Voluntas hoc differt ab affectu, quod illa rationi coniuncta est, hic ab impetu proficiscitur. Unde affectus tribuitur et brutis.’ Valla himself does not explicitly mention the will as a separate faculty, but he does say *affectus* is separate from *ratio*.
- 34 ASD I–V, 219: ‘Motus animi Graeci vocant *pathe*, quos latini tum morbos, tum cupiditates vocant, sed aptissime affectus, quod genus sunt ira, misericordia, amor, odium, sed praecipui: Metus, spes, dolor, gaudium.’
- 35 See the introduction to the text at ASD I–V, 201.
- 36 ASD I–V, 219: ‘Qui his carent *apatheis* dicuntur: et *apatheia* quibusdam Stoicis probata est: quum alieno dolore dolemus, *sumpatheia* dicitur.’
- 37 ASD I–V, 219.
- 38 See Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* IV.xii; Quintilian, *Inst.* V.10.28. In the *Ecclesiastes*, Erasmus follows Quintilian’s use of *commotio*, distinguishing it from *natura animi*, although here the distinction extends well beyond emotions: ‘Commotio hoc differt ab animi natura, quod hjaec perpetua est, illa temporaria, ira sit commotio, iracundia natura animi, et timor sit commotio, timiditas sit natura, ebrietas sit commotio, ebriositas sive vinolentia sit natura, hoc est animi habitus’ (ASD V–4, 373).
- 39 For details, see the introduction in ASD I–V.
- 40 For a recent insightful treatment of Erasmus’s use of *affectus* in his Gospel paraphrases, see Reinier Leushuis, ‘Emotion and Imitation: The Jesus Figure in Erasmus’s Gospel Paraphrases,’ *Reformation* 22:2 (2017): 82–101.
- 41 CWE 68:792, modified; ASD V–5, 68: ‘Constat autem imprimis duplex esse affectuum genus, alterum mitius et quasi comicum, alterum vehementius ac tragicum. Nec quicquam vetat inter hos collocare medium, quod a Fabio factum video. Prius illud Graeci vocant *ethe*, Latini mores. Posterius hoc Graeci *pathe* vocant, Latini quoniam propriam vocem non inveniunt, alii generali nomine abutentes pro specie vocant ‘affectus,’ alii ‘perturbationes’ aut ‘motus animorum,’ alii cupiditates,’ alii ‘morbos.’ Quanquam nec *ethos* Graecis, nec mores Latinis hoc proprie sonant, quod hic sentimus. Siquidem *ethe* Graecis mores sunt, a quibus boni malive dicimur et sumus. Sed ea vox ut illis ita et nobis deflexa est docendi gratia, ut declaret affectus communes ac moderatiores, quibus nemo non afficitur, quod sint secundum naturam et ab omnibus agnoscantur ac delectent verius quam perturbent.’
- 42 *Inst.* VI.2.8–9: ‘Horum autem, sicut antiquitus traditum accepimus, duae sunt species: alteram Graeci pathos vocant, quod nos vertentes recte ac proprie adfectum dicimus, alteram ethos, cuius nomine, ut ego quidem sentio, caret sermo Romanus: mores appellantur, atque inde pars quoque illa philosophiae ethike moralis est dicta. Sed ipsam rei naturam spectanti mihi non tam mores significari videntur quam morum quaedam proprietas; nam ipsis quidem omnis habitus mentis continetur.’
- 43 Rom. 8:6, 8:7, and 8:27—in the last case, Erasmus offers *sensus* in the NT text, and *affectus* in the *Annotationes*.
- 44 CWE 16:152.
- 45 Titelmans, *Collationes quinque super Epistolam ad Romanos beati pauli Apostoli* (Antwerp: Vorsterman, 1529), fol. 177: ‘Sensus et affectus crassiora sunt vocabula, quam quae spiritui attribuantur, qui corporalium perturbationum est experts.’
- 46 See, e.g., *ibid.*, fol. 204.
- 47 CWE 72:217, modified. ‘Nec mirum si interpretes utrumque attingunt verbis, cum res inter se cognatae sint: nam depravatus affectus fere nascitur ex depravato intellectu, et contra’ (*Opera Omnia*, Vol. IX, ed. Jean Leclerc [Leiden, 1703–1706], 998B); hereafter LB.

48 CWE 16:153.

49 Compare his response in the *Responsio ad Collationes*: ‘Here with much irritation [Titelmans] tells us that *affectus* is of the flesh and is not suitable for the spirit. So henceforth a pious desire towards God will not be called an *affectus*, and although Christ had pity on the crowd, it will not be said to have been an *affectus* as if we do not speak of God using the same words as when we speak of the vilest of men. A pimp begets a son from an immoral relationship, and God the Father begets the Son; a lovesick adolescent loves a prostitute, and God loves his Son’ (CWE 73:234).

50 Allen, Ep. 2260, in *The Complete Letters of Erasmus* by P. S. Allen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 [1905]): ‘Verum ut in homine duplex est voluntas pia et impia, ita scire debebat esse duplices affectus, bonos et malos, spirituales et carnales.’

51 This is akin to his remarks in the *Responsio* to Titelmans: ‘The word [*affectus*] pleased me because it pertains to both parts of the soul, spirit and flesh’ (LB IX:997E: ‘Proinde mihi placuit verbum, quod ad utramque animi partem pertinebat, spiritum et carnem’).

52 Allen, Ep. 2260: ‘Atqui inter affectionem et affectum nihil interest, nisi quod prior vox placuit Ciceroni, aletera Quintiliano. Aut si quid interest, crassior est vox affectio quam affectus. Nam affectio praeterquam quod temporarius animi motus videtur esse, magis ad corpus pertinet quam affectus. Siquidem et corporis cruciatus affectio dicitur, veluti sitis aut fames.’

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14 Augustinian, Aristotelian, and Humanist Shaping of Medieval and Early Modern Emotion

Affectus, affectio, and 'affection' as Travelling Concepts

Elena Carrera

The recent overview by Michael Champion, Raphaële Garrod, Yasmin Haskell, and Juanita Feros Ruys of the Latin terms *affectus* and *affectio* from Antiquity to the neo-Latin writings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reaches the conclusion that even though the concepts denoted by these two terms were not always related to our 'modern understanding of emotions,' they often referred to 'individual states akin to emotions or to emotional capacities.'¹ The main achievement of this very useful diachronic overview is that it lays the foundations for future research in mapping terms and concepts of emotion from the premodern period. One of the next challenges arising from this overview is to conduct synchronic research on what happened to the nouns *affectus* and *affectio* when they were translated into vernacular languages. This might throw further light on how emotion has been conceptualized in the past, in both religious and secular contexts.

In this essay I seek to shed light on how the multiple meanings of the Latin terms *affectus* and *affectio* were understood in medieval and Renaissance cultures, and on how these meanings were loaded onto English terms between 1480 and 1553.² I begin by discussing briefly how *affectus* was understood by Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), and how his affective spirituality and that of later medieval monastic writers helped to shape the definitions of this and related terms provided in Johannes Balbus's Latin dictionary in the late thirteenth century. I then consider the wider range of meanings assigned to *affectio* and *affectus* in the second part of the fifteenth century, before examining the ways in which such meanings were loaded onto cognate (or other) terms in the earliest printed English-Latin dictionaries. Finally, turning to the sixteenth century, I analyze the fields of meaning implicit in the definition of *affectus* and *affectio* in Ambrose Calepine's (1502) monolingual dictionary, and discuss the extent to which these seemingly overlapping

fields of meaning are echoed in the cognate terms used in three kinds of texts: the descriptive Latin-English dictionary of the humanist Thomas Elyot (1538), the prescriptive, didactic treatise *De officio mariti* (1529) by the humanist Juan Luis Vives, and its first English translation by Thomas Paynell (1553?).³ In looking at dictionaries and secular usage of terms of emotion in the context of sixteenth-century didactic texts, I aim to complement existing work on the religious and medical contexts of medieval and early modern emotion.⁴ I also aim to fill a gap in the main historical studies of secular terms and categories of emotion, which do not cover the sixteenth century.⁵

From 'emotions' to *affectus*: Augustine's Legacy

One of the main differences between modern conceptions of emotion and the Augustinian notion of *affectus* regards valence. In recent years, psychologists have argued that valence is an objectively measurable 'basic property of emotion experience' which depends on it 'feeling pleasant or unpleasant.'⁶ This contrasts with the distinction made in Cicero's account of the Stoic classification of 'emotions' between two ways of feeling pleasure: 'joy' (*gaudium*) 'when the mind is moved quietly and consistently, in accordance to reason,' and 'wild or excessive gladness' (*laetitia gestiens vel nimia*) when it 'pours forth with a hollow sort of uplift,' which the Stoics see as 'an unreasoning elevation of mind.'⁷ Departing from Cicero and the Stoics, Augustine followed Scripture in using one set of terms (*cupiditas*, *laetitia*, *timor*, and *tristitia*) and giving them a positive or negative value, depending on whether their orientation was right or wrong in relation to sin. Thus, for Augustine, the *motūs*, *affectūs*, and *affectiones* which resulted from love of the good (*de amore boni*) and from 'right reason' (*rectam rationem*) should be considered virtues (*virtutes*), even if Stoics would have named them 'agitations of the mind' (*animi perturbationibus*), 'diseases' (*morbos*), or 'disordered passions' (*vitiosas passiones*).⁸

The other main difference is that for Augustine, all *affectūs* (or *affectiones* or *motūs animi*) involved the will.⁹ The only exception was inappropriate sexual desire (or lust, *libido vitiosa*). Like anger, sexual desire could be 'brought under control by those who live disciplined, just and devout lives, sometimes with comparative ease, sometimes with difficulty,' though always with 'coercion and struggle.' But in contrast with the bodily expressions of other *affectiones* such as anger, the bodily movements related to sexual desire (which Augustine explicitly located in the male sexual organ) could not simply be produced by an act of will; they were uncontrollable responses to stimuli.¹⁰ For Augustine, lust was so uncontrollable he believed that he could not be continent without the help of God's grace, and that he was able to obtain such help by asking for it with 'inner sighing' (*gemitu interno*).¹¹ Just as he drew on his

experience to persuade the readers of his *Confessions* that it was possible to attain control of sexual desire through acts of will (expressed through inner sighing), he also promoted the idea that all *affectiones* (except lust and inappropriate anger) could be cultivated and directed to a spiritual purpose through the use of the will.

Affectus and its Cognates in Late Medieval Dictionaries and Their Sources

The 1499 version of the dictionary known as *Catholicon*, which was compiled in the late thirteenth century by the Genovese Dominican friar and grammarian Johannes Balbus, first printed in 1460, and now edited by the humanist Peter Gilles, notes that *affectus*, when used as a noun, had the meanings of *voluntas animi* (will) and *intentio* (intention), and that it could either refer to an *actio* or a *passio*.¹² It cites an example from Ambrose (d. 397), ‘*affectus tuus nomen operi tuo imponit*’ (your intention imposes meaning on your deeds), which clearly falls into the category of *affectus* as *actio*.

The meanings of *affectus* inherited by Balbus were, to a large extent, shaped by the so-called ‘affective’ tradition of spirituality (influenced by Ambrose and Augustine) represented by the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius (d. 528?), Gregory the Great (d. 604), Richard of St Victor (d. 1137), Hugh of St Victor (d. 1141), William of St Thierry (d. 1148), Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), and Bonaventure (d. 1274). All these writers distinguished between the intellectual operations needed for human knowledge and the affective disposition required to attain knowledge of God.¹³ Thus, Bernard, who argued that an individual’s love for God was the result of God’s love for that individual, used the noun *affectus* to refer to a state of mind which was best understood not as a passive surrendering to God’s action on the soul, but as an active engagement with it.¹⁴ As Michael Casey has noted, for Bernard, *affectus* denoted not only the ‘fundamental dynamic principle within the human being,’ but also ‘the range of emotions and activities in which this underlying reality finds expression.’¹⁵ In turn, William used the term *affectus* to refer both to the active union of one’s will with God’s will and to a range of functions of the soul related to affectivity, cognition, and volition. As Thomas Davis has put it, for William *affectus* could be ‘a movement of pity, or perception, or faith, or hope, or love, or thought, or will, and so on.’¹⁶ What transpires from such usages of the word *affectus* is that they denoted active (rather than passive) processes.

One of the most comprehensive explanations of the meanings of *affectus* and *affectio* still current in the fifteenth century was provided by the Franciscan Giovanni of Capestrano (1386–1456) in the *Speculum Conscientiae*, composed in 1441 and published in the sixteenth century under the auspices of Pope Gregory XIII, as part the *Tractatus universi iuris*.¹⁷ Here *affectio* is seen to refer to a ‘voluntary inclination of the

mind' ('mentis spontanea inclinatio'), to 'being moved with love towards someone' ('atque ad aliquem cum dilectione fertur'), and to the kind of 'expansion [of the soul] produced by the desire for utter delight' ('effusio per desiderium perfruendi') described by Hugh of St Victor.¹⁸

In the *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483), both *affectus* and *affectio* are given as the Latin ways of denoting the concepts of desire ('desyre'), love (Eng. 'lufe'; Gr. *philos*), and infliction of bodily suffering ('punyschyng or punyschement'), while the Latin phrase *diligere pietatis affectu* is suggested as one of the ways to express the meaning of the English verb 'lufe' (love).¹⁹ By contrast, Geoffrey the Grammarian's *Promptorium Parvulorum, sive clericorum* (*Storehouse for Children or Clerics*, composed c. 1440 and published in 1499) simply gives *affectio* as the Latin equivalent of 'affeccyon, or hertyly wellwylling' and references Balbus's *Catholicon* in giving *affectus* for 'affecte, or welwyllinge.'²⁰

In Middle English, the term 'affect' had been used as a direct translation of the participle *affectus*, and thus carried its meanings of 'disposed' or 'inclined,' and 'well-disposed' or 'favourable.' It had also been loaded with a whole range of different concepts encompassed by the noun *affectus*: (1) the capacity for being affected emotionally; (2) the capacity for desiring and willing; (3) emotion or feeling; (4) desire and inclination; (5) emotional bent or disposition; (6) good will and affection. The last four of these six meanings were also loaded onto the related term 'affeccioun' (also spelt 'affeccion' and 'affection,' from the Latin *affectio*), which could also refer more generally to (2a) the emotional (as opposed to the intellectual) dimension of human nature and (2b) the faculty of the soul responsible for emotion and volition, and more particularly to (3a) emotional disturbance, (3b) excitement, (4a) wish, (4b) intention, (6a) charity, (6b) friendship, and (6c) love, including maternal love, love of noble deeds, and love between the sexes.²¹

The Three Main Meanings of *affectus* in the Renaissance

In the monolingual Latin dictionary published in 1502 by the Italian Augustinian monk and lexicographer Ambrose Calepine (Ambrogio Calepino or Ambrosius Calepinus, d. 1510), the noun *affectus* is presented as a synonym of *affectio*. Making a crucial distinction between the singular and plural forms of these nouns, Calepine notes that the singular *affectus* had the meanings of *cupiditas* (desire) and *laetitia* (joy), in line with Cicero's use, and that poets tended to use it as an equivalent of *desiderium* (longing). He also suggests that the plural *affectūs* and *affectiones* had two main meanings: moral dispositions (that is, *virtutes* and *vitia*) and movements of the soul (*animi motibus*, a phrase used to translate the Greek *πάθη*, as noted in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, 9.4).²² This explains why the *Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot* (1538), which drew on the 1520 edition of Calepine's dictionary, translates both *affectus* and *affectio* as 'affection or naturall motion, as gladnesse, desyre,

and suche lyke.’²³ It also accounts for the three main uses of the English term ‘affections’ which can be identified in the sixteenth century: dispositions, transient states in response to cognitive stimuli, and impulses.

When the phrase ‘affections of the mynde’ was employed in the sixteenth century to denote particular states that might be transient, such as joy, these were usually understood as cognitive processes. For instance, Elyot defines *gaudium* as ‘ioye, myrthe, an affection of the mynde, conceiued of an opinion of a thing good or pleasaunt.’²⁴ This conceptualization appears to be in line with Cicero’s account of the Stoic view that ‘all the emotions come about through judgment and opinion’ (‘omnes perturbationes iudicio ... fieri et opinione’).²⁵ But it was even closer to the Aristotelian theory of emotions as responses to impressions in the *phantasia*, which did not always involve fully fledged rational judgments.²⁶ We see this, for instance, in Elyot’s explanation of the Latin phrase *flexanima oratio*: ‘an oration or spech, wherby a mans mynde is stirred to pitie, reioysynge, or other lyke affection.’²⁷ In acknowledging that particular ‘affections’ could be elicited through public speakers’ rhetorical use of language, Elyot’s definition demonstrates that his understanding of ‘affections’ had more in common with the Aristotelian than with the Stoic model.

The Aristotelian model was also implicit in the definition of *affectūs* provided by Vives in *De officio mariti*, which stresses not only that they were responses to mental representations, but also that they might manifest with greater or lesser intensity, and thus be excessive or controllable, depending on a number of factors, such as bodily temperament, habits, and lifestyle: ‘affectus ex opinionibus nascuntur; opiniones vero aliae in aliis plus aut minus valent, pro constitutione ac ratione corporis pro moribus atque assuefactione.’²⁸ This explanation of individual differences in the experience of *affectus* is consistent with Aristotle’s account of the *pathē* of the soul (anger, gentleness, pity, boldness, joy, love, and hatred) as experiences that depend on the individual’s bodily (*De anima*, 403a16–27) and moral disposition (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1105b25–6).²⁹ Vives’ definition was rendered rather faithfully by Thomas Paynell in the first English translation of the *De officio*: ‘The affections do growe of opinions, the which are more in one, then in another after the disposition, the customes & vsaunce of the bodye.’³⁰

Vives, who was one of the first lay scholars in modern Europe, is offering here moral advice for ordinary people, such as the young Spanish merchant who shared a room with him in London in late 1524.³¹ This should give us an indication of the applicability of his writing. Whereas Bernard of Clairvaux and his monastic contemporaries had focused on the narrower meaning of the singular term *affectus* as the capacity to love God and to desire union with him, which could be cultivated through acts of will in response to experiential knowledge of God’s love, Vives was writing for husbands and thus focused on ordinary people’s experiences of *affectus* in a wider range of situations.

The early moderns also inherited from Platonism (predominantly via Augustine) a related but distinct notion of *affectūs* as impulses and tendencies that needed to be controlled. This notion is captured, for instance, by the phrase *mittas frenum affectibus*, which Elyot translates in his dictionary as ‘brydelle thyne affections.’³² It is further illustrated by Vives’ warning that if man simply follows his impulses (‘si affectibus se permittat’), he becomes proud, ferocious, and revengeful (either out of lust, or out of a desire for revenge based on what he takes to be an insult), and will only be able to receive help from others by coercing them through fear or hope (based on the promise of rewards):

Et ut est homo animal, si affectibus se permittat, superbum, ferox, impotens, ultionis avidum, plures rationes ac vias excogitat, tum ad animi libidinem explendam, tum ad persequendam et vindicandam quam ipse iniuriam interpretetur alios sibi adiungeret, vel coactos metu, vel spe aliqua aut beneficio delinitos ac illicefactos.³³

In translating this passage, Paynell resorted to an amplification (‘natural affection and appetite’) to make the meaning of *affectūs* unambiguous:

And man, the which (yf he folow his natural affection and appetite) is a prowde, a fearce, and a desirous beast to be reuenged, shal finde manye wayes to accomlishe his luste, and to ensue & reuenge, that he interpreteth to be an iniury, and shall associate and gather manye vnto him, eyther for feare, or by some benefite inticed.³⁴

By contrast, in his recent English version, Charles Fantazzi brings in the term ‘passions,’ rendering ‘si affectibus se permittat’ as ‘if he abandon himself to his passions.’³⁵ He also uses ‘passions’ when translating a later passage in *De officio* in which Vives echoes biblical views (Eph. 4:18) on the effect of sin in darkening people’s innate intelligence (*ingenio*), and warns his readers against becoming enslaved to their ‘impulses’ (*affectuum*):

At homini, ut conditor suus praestantissimam rationem et excellentissimam vim mentis singulari quodam beneficio tribuerat, ita ipse peccato suo et virtutum semina corrumpit et lucem illam ingenii obscuravit. Quod si affectuum insistat via, ita in praeceps fertur ut iam paene alieni iuris, nempe domini quem in animum admisit illique mancipatus et traditus.³⁶

In this context, the moral and theological connotations that have been loaded for centuries onto the modern English term ‘passions’ make it a much more appropriate way of translating *affectūs* than the more neutral ‘emotions’.

If we now look at the early modern English translation, we see that Paynell replaces Vives' dative *illi* (which refers to *affectūs* as *domini*) with the notion of sin:

But as man hath of his maker, & that by a certayne singuler benefite, most excellent, reason, and figure of mynde: euen so he hath througe sinne corrupted the seede of vertue, & obscured the lyghte of hys wyt & vnderstandynge. And if he do stande and folow the wayes of his affecttions, he shal so abace him selfe, that he shal become seruante vnto synne now receaued.³⁷

While Vives had only referred to the effect of original sin in weakening people's ability to exercise judgement, Paynell's translation establishes a direct connection between *affectūs* and sin which is absent from Vives' text. In making such a connection, Paynell seems to be reverting to Augustine's conception of human beings as 'servants of sin,' who have to struggle to resist sinful impulses, and are only morally responsible for the desires to which they consent.³⁸ If Augustine had developed his conception of sin as involving 'suggestion, pleasure and assent' by adapting the Stoic distinction between desire and assent/consent, Paynell is now reinterpreting Vives' suggestion that one can become enslaved to one's *affectūs*, making it fit with the Augustinian view of the sinful nature of human beings. This alignment, at a time when the Augustinian approach to spirituality had been given a new life in the writings of Luther (a former Augustinian friar), is unsurprising in a scholar who had been an Augustinian friar before he joined the English Reformation and became a chaplain to Henry VIII.³⁹

Vives was well acquainted with Augustine's ideas on sin, having worked for two years (prompted by Erasmus) on his critical edition of the *De Civitate Dei* (1522), which he dedicated to Henry VIII. Nonetheless, while acknowledging Christian doctrine on the effect of original sin, he departed from Augustine's emphasis on the role of divine grace in helping individuals become free from the slavery of their sinful impulses. Instead, he promoted the value of education for men and women.⁴⁰ Through education and moral discipline, people would become more able to prevent the agitation which intense *affectūs* could cause.

This view is implicit, for instance, in his account (based on Gen. 6:5) of how human nature was degraded as a result of men marrying women who were not virtuous and were more concerned with bodily pleasures than with spiritual ideas: 'filias hominum carnales, quae spiritus illos caelestes fractos et debilitatos in cogitationes terrenas et sordidas detruderent, ut ex spiritu verterent in carnem, ex quiete rationis in commotionem affectuum.'⁴¹ The contrast which Vives establishes here between 'calm reason' ('quiete rationis') and emotional rousing or agitation ('commotionem affectuum') is toned down by Paynell, who omits the

reference to reason and uses the rather neutral term ‘motions’ to translate *commotio*: ‘the fleashlye doughters of men, the which dyd drawe the celestiall spirite to earthly and vyle thoughtes, tournynge the spirite to fleash, and from quietnes to the motions of the affections.’⁴² If we then look at the modern English translation, we see that Fantazzi chooses the term ‘emotions’ (rather than ‘passions’) in rendering *commotionem affectuum* as ‘agitation of the emotions.’ This seems appropriate given that the emphasis here is on movement, an aspect which the term ‘emotion’ brings to the fore.⁴³

Conclusion

We have seen how, in medieval and Renaissance Europe, the Latin term *affectus* had a wide range of related meanings. It might refer to a ‘state of mind’ or ‘disposition.’ It might also be used to indicate a person’s inclination to do something to another person or being, which, in turn, would affect his or her state of mind. For instance, loving God could produce a desire for utter delight, thereby expanding the soul (as we saw in Capestrano’s example from Hugh of St Victor) and increasing its capacity to be affected emotionally. In many instances, *affectus* simply referred to what we may broadly translate as ‘love,’ which in the pre-modern period tended to be understood as the state of mind produced in one person by the perceived qualities or actions of another person or being.

If the study by Champion, Garrod, Haskell, and Ruys identifies no linear development in the use of the terms *affectus* and *affectio* over the long premodern period, my analysis of monolingual dictionaries compiled in a shorter time frame has identified a move from the focus on ‘emotional capacity’ that dominates Balbus’s definition to the wider variety of meanings to which Calepine’s refers. One of the reasons for this is that while Balbus was writing within the context of Christian affective spirituality, Calepine saw his dictionary as a tool which would help his generation and future generations of humanist scholars engage more fruitfully with classical authors.

This essay only shows a small part of what can be done with dictionaries. The proliferation, from the sixteenth century onwards, of multilingual dictionaries based on Calepine’s *Dictionarium* and bilingual dictionaries which often drew on what had been done in other languages allows us to study not only how concepts travel between cultures, but also how new nuances are added when words are borrowed and translated in different contexts.

The examples taken from the early modern and modern English translations of Vives’ *De officio* also show how, in seeking to transfer meaning from one language and culture to another, translators are faced with the task of reducing ambiguity and can choose either to emphasize the

cultural distance between the texts (as Fantazzi does when he chooses ‘passions’ over ‘emotions’ in rendering *affectūs*) or to create shortcuts by adding new connections (as when Paynell replaces *affectus* with the notion of sin).

Above all, the essay demonstrates how dictionaries might be used in conjunction with key texts which shed further light on the contextual meanings of terms of emotion. There is little point in knowing that one of the three main meanings of *affectus* in dictionaries like the *Catholicon Anglicum* of 1483 or Elyot’s dictionary of 1538 was ‘desire,’ if we do not have a sense of the contexts and situations which gave the term its meaning. While Augustine had distinguished between fleshly and spiritual desire, and had emphasized the role of the will, helped by divine grace, in directing desire to a spiritual purpose, Hugh of St Victor and other monastic writers mobilized and discussed spiritual desire as their way of actively engaging the will in the experience of union with God. Humanist writers like Vives, who also inherited Augustine’s understanding of desire, looked further back to earlier classical sources like Aristotle and Cicero to offer lay people moral guidance on how to understand and control their everyday experiences of desire and other *affectūs*. Elyot then gave English people a tool which would help them understand the writings of classical and humanist writers, while Paynell made Vives’ advice accessible to a wider sector of the population. Their combined efforts offered literate men and women the opportunity to turn to books, rather than to God, in learning to use their judgement to free themselves from mental agitation.

Notes

- 1 Michael Champion, Raphaële Garrod, Yasmin Haskell, and Juanita Feros Ruys, ‘But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of the Emotions,’ *Rivista storica italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016): 543.
- 2 This essay is written in dialogue with the research strand ‘Loaded Meanings’ led by Chris Pountain at Queen Mary, University of London, as part of the flagship collaborative project ‘Language Acts and Worldmaking,’ funded by the AHRC Open World Research Initiative (OWRI). While the research strand ‘Loaded Meanings’ aims to invite ‘reflection on the nature of language and its historical development’ by examining the dissemination of ‘learned’ borrowings from Latin or Greek in Ibero-Romance, this essay focuses on the meanings loaded onto the term ‘affection’ in the sixteenth century as a translation of *affectus/affectio*.
- 3 A Christian of Jewish origin, Vives was the second most widely read humanist of the sixteenth century, after Erasmus. His moral treatises proved very popular on both sides of the Reformation divide; they underwent more than a thousand editions across more than 50 European cities. His *Introductio ad sapientiam* (1524, published in English as *Introduction to Wisdom* in 1540) had 113 editions in the sixteenth century. The *Institutio feminae Christianae* (1524, published in English as *The Instruction of a Christen Woman* in 1529) and *De officio mariti* (1529), taken together because they often published as one volume, had six editions in Latin and over 50 in vernacular

languages (including English, French, German, Dutch, and Italian). His *Colloquia* (School Dialogues, 1539) proved hugely popular throughout Europe (in England, according to a 1582 preface, they were read in ‘well-nigh every school’); they had at least 75 editions in the sixteenth century and 175 thereafter. Elyot followed in Vives’ steps in writing conduct books, like *The Governour* (1531), *Of the Knowledge which Maketh a Wise Man* (1533), and *The Defence of Good Women* (1540). Paynell translated medical works and a number of religious treatises, including some by Erasmus.

- 4 For the religious usage of terms of emotion in the sixteenth century, see, for instance, Kirk Essary, ‘Passions, Affections, or Emotions? On the Ambiguity of 16th-Century Terminology,’ *Emotion Review* 9, no. 4 (2017): 367–374; Elena Carrera, ‘*Pasión* and *Afección* in Teresa of Avila and Francisco de Osuna,’ *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 84, no. 2 (2007): 175–191. For a discussion of terms of emotion in medieval and early modern medical contexts, see Carrera, ‘Anger and the Mind-Body Connection in Medieval and Early Modern Medicine,’ in *Emotions and Health, 1200–1700*, ed. Carrera (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 95–146.
- 5 See, for instance, Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ute Frevert, et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- 6 Lisa F. Barrett, ‘Valence is a Basic Building Block of Emotional Life,’ *Journal of Research in Personality* 40 (2006): 39.
- 7 ‘Nam cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur; cum autem inaniter et effuse animus exultat, tum illa laetitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest, quam ita definiunt: sine ratione animi elationem’; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, 4.13, in Marcus T. Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, ed. Max Pohlenz (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1965), 367. Translations are from *Cicero on the Emotions: Tusculan Disputations 3 and 4*, trans. Margaret Graver (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), here 44.
- 8 ‘Hi motus, hi affectus de amore boni et de sancta caritate venientes si vitia vocanda sunt, sinamus, ut ea, quae vere vitia sunt, virtutes vocentur. Sed cum rectam rationem sequantur istae affectiones, quando ubi oportet adhibentur, quis eas tunc morbos seu vitiosas passiones audeat dicere?’; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 14.9; see *De civitate Dei*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993), II, p. 22. For the wider context of the Augustinian debate, see Sarah Catherine Byers, *Perception, Sensibility, and Moral Motivation in Augustine: A Stoic-Platonic Synthesis* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). See also the essay by Jonathan D. Teubner in this volume.
- 9 ‘Voluntas est quippe in omnibus; immo omnes nihil aliud quam voluntates sunt’ (The will is engaged in all of them; in fact they are all essentially directions of will); *De civitate*, 14.6; II, p. 13. The standard translation of *voluntates* is ‘acts of will’; see St Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin, 2003 [1972]). I take the phrase ‘directions of will’ from Johannes Brachtendorf, ‘Cicero and Augustine on the Passions,’ *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 43 (1997): 300.
- 10 ‘Nam quisquis verbum emittit iratus vel etiam quemquam percutit, non posset hoc facere, nisi lingua et manus iubente quodam modo voluntate moverentur; quae membra, etiam cum ira nulla est, moventur eadem voluntate. At vero genitales corporis partes ita libido suo iuri quodam modo mancipavit, ut moveri non valeant, si ipsa defuerit et nisi ipsa vel ultro vel excitata surrexerit’; *De civitate*, 14.19; II, p. 43.

- 11 'Sicut scriptum est, neminem posse esse continentem nisi tu dederis. utique dares, si gemitu interno pulsarem aures tuas et fide solida in te iactarem curam meam'; Augustine, *Confessions*, 6.11.20; *Confessions*, Vol. 1: Books 1–8, ed. and trans. Carolyn J.-B. Hammond (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 278; my translation. As Richard Sorabji has pointed out, Augustine is adapting the words of the Wisdom of Solomon about wisdom being granted by God to support his belief that only God can help him be continent; Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 383.
- 12 *Summa quae Catholicon appellatur fratris Johannis Januensis*, ed. Petrus Egidius (Paris: Félix Baligault for Simon Vostre, 1499), s.v. *affectus*.
- 13 See, for instance, Robert G. Davis, *The Weight of Love: Affect, Ecstasy, and Union in the Theology of Bonaventure* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017). For an overview of the tradition of affective spirituality and its impact in the sixteenth century, see Carrera, *Teresa of Avila: Authority, Power and the Self in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Legenda, 2005), 21–37.
- 14 Jean Leclercq, O. S. B., *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961).
- 15 Michael Casey, *Athirst for God: Spiritual Desire in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1986), 97.
- 16 See Thomas Davis's Appendix to his translation of William of St Thierry, *The Mirror of Faith* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979), 93.
- 17 *Speculum conscientiae*, in *Tractatus universi iuris*, 20 vols. (Venice: Franciscus Zilettus, 1584–1586), I: 323^v–371^r.
- 18 On Hugh of St Victor's use of the term *affectus*, see the essay by Michael Barbezat in this volume.
- 19 *Catholicon Anglicum: An English-Latin Wordbook Dated 1483*, ed. Sidney John Hervon Herrtage (London: Trübner, 1881), s.v. 'desyre,' 'lufe,' 'punyschyng.'
- 20 Geoffrey's *Promptorium* does not include 'punyschyng' as an entry and does not give *affectus* as an equivalent of *desyre*, a term which it presents, together with 'yernynge', as equivalent to the Latin *desiderium* and *optacio*; *Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum*, ed. Albert Way, 2 vols. (London: Camden Society, 1843–1865), I, s.v. *affeccyon*, *afecte*, *desyre*. A later edition gives 'wele wylling' (friendly, benevolent) as *affectatus*; *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ed. Anthony L. Mayhew (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1908), s.v. *afecte*.
- 21 For the meanings and examples of uses of the Middle English *affect* and *affeccioun*,*-tion*, see the online *Middle English Dictionary* (University of Michigan, 2013), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/> [accessed 14 October 2017]. See also the essay by Paul Megna in this volume.
- 22 *Ambrosii Calepini bergomatis eremitani dictionarium* (Reggio Emilia: Dionysio Bertochi, 1502), s.v. *affectus*.
- 23 *The Dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knight* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1538), s.v. *affectus*. All my references to this work follow this edition, available at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A21313.0001.001> [accessed 17 October 2017]. For the suggestion that Elyot looked up all his terms in the 1520 edition of the *Dictionarium*, see Gabriele Stein, *Sir Thomas Elyot as Lexicographer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 149. See also DeWitt T. Starnes, *Renaissance Dictionaries. English-Latin and*

- Latin-English* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954); Stein, *Word Studies in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- 24 Elyot, *Dictionary*, s.v. *gaudium*.
 - 25 *Tusculanae disputationes*, 4.14, p. 368. The translation of *perturbationes* as 'emotions' is taken from Graver, *Cicero on the Emotions*, 44.
 - 26 Dorothea Frede, 'The Cognitive Role of *Phantasia* in Aristotle,' in *Essays on Aristotle's De Anima*, ed. Martha C. Nussbaum and Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 279–295; John M. Cooper, 'An Aristotelian Theory of the Emotions,' in *Essays on Aristotle's Rhetoric*, ed. Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (Berkeley: University of California, 1996), 238–257.
 - 27 Elyot, *Dictionary*, s.v. *flexanima oratio*.
 - 28 Fantazzi translates this passage as follows: 'passions arise from mental concepts, but these concepts have greater or lesser power over individual persons according to their physical constitution and makeup and their personal habits and customs'; Juan Luis Vives, *De officio mariti: Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes*, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 38–39.
 - 29 On Aristotle's views on the impact of bodily disposition, see Kostas Kalimtzis, *Taming Anger: The Hellenic Approach to the Limitations of Reason* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 78–94. On his account of the role of habit in shaping people's disposition to have appropriate feelings, see L. A. Kosman, 'Being Properly Affected: Virtues and Feelings in Aristotle's Ethics,' in *Essays on Aristotle's Ethics*, ed. Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 103–116; reprinted *Aristotle's Ethics: Critical Essays*, ed. Nancy Sherman (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 261–276.
 - 30 *The office and duetie of an husband, made by the excellent philosopher Lodouicus Viues*, trans. Thomas Paynell (London: John Cawood, 1553?), unpaginated edition. The date of publication of Paynell's translation is uncertain; 1550 and 1555 have been suggested, but it is more likely that it came out in 1553, a year after the death of his wife (since he expresses his intention to marry again) and a year before Anthony Browne (who is addressed as 'knyght' in the dedication) became Viscount Montague. This is also consistent with the fact that Cawood is named as the Queen's printer.
 - 31 According to Vives' own account in his preface, the *De officio* began life as a series of notes he wrote in Spanish for Álvaro de Castro, his roommate in London; *De officio*, 2–3. On Vives in London and Oxford, see Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), 78–104.
 - 32 Elyot, *Dictionary*, s. v. *mitto*.
 - 33 Vives, *De officio*, 10.
 - 34 Paynell, *Office*.
 - 35 Vives, *De officio*, 11.
 - 36 'But in the case of man, although endowed by his Creator through an extraordinary favor with an incomparable faculty of reason and a remarkable power of intellect, he corrupted the seeds of virtue and obscured the light of his intellect through his own sin. If he continues on the path of passions, he is swept along so precipitously that he almost belongs to another, a master whom he has admitted into his spirit, to whom he has become a slave'; *De officio*, 13–15.
 - 37 Paynell, *Office*.
 - 38 'Non enim in ipso desiderio parvo, sed in nostra consensione peccamus'; Augustine, *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* (PL 35. 2066). See Marcia Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity*

- to the Early Middle Ages: Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century, 2 vols. (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1985), II: 207–208; Christopher Kirwan, Augustine (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 75; Risto Saarinen, *Weakness of the Will in Medieval Thought: From Augustine to Buridan* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1994), 20–43.
- 39 As we can see from his exegesis of Rom. 5:12, Luther went further than Augustine in arguing for the corruption of the will: '[original sin] is not merely the privation of quality in the will, indeed, not merely the loss of light in the intellect or of strength in the memory, but, in a word, the loss of all uprightness and of the power of all our faculties of body and soul and of the whole inner and outer man. Over and beyond this, it is the proneness toward evil'; Luther, *Lectures on Romans*, ed. Wilhelm Pauck (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2006 [1961]), 167.
- 40 See, for instance, Vives' arguments in *De officio*, 126–127.
- 41 'daughters of men, carnal creatures who would force these heavenly spirits, broken and debilitated, into earthly and sordid thoughts, so that from spirit they turned into flesh, from the calm of reason into the agitation of emotions, from celestial into terrestrial beings'; Vives, *De officio*, 62–63.
- 42 Paynell, *Office*.
- 43 For a discussion of late medieval and early modern medical views of 'emotions' as 'movements of the soul,' see Carrera, 'Anger and the Mind-Body Connection,' 116–123. On the history of the term 'emotion,' see for instance Hans-Jürgen Diller, "'Emotion" vs. "passion": The History of Word-Use and the Emergence of an A-moral Category,' *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 52 (2010): 137; Dixon, "'Emotion": The History of a Keyword in Crisis,' *Emotion Review* 4.4 (2012): 338–344.

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15 Meta-, Mega-, and Multiple Emotions in Early Modern English Terminology

R. S. White

This chapter is offered as an exercise in formulating a usable taxonomy of words to describe emotions in early modern English, organized according to the contemporary function of such words. It is by no means intended as a hard-and-fast classificatory system (indeed, to compile such a one would be a frustrating and perhaps futile task, since context always plays a major part in semantics), but at least it may begin a discussion. As this volume suggests, part of the context would be the profession and purposes of those using the words, with different shades of meanings between theologians, physicians, philosophers, lawyers, and others. My examples come mainly from literature and drama, from a conviction that early modern imaginative writers, steeped in humanist training, used language with great precision, knowledge of etymologies and classical rhetoric, and a special eye to visual, metaphorical, and emotive effects. This is especially true of Spenser, the various translators of different versions of the Bible, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Milton, and later Samuel Johnson, who compiled the first great English dictionary. Since writers, especially dramatists, portray personages expressing their feelings strongly in situations in which emotions are stirred within a narrative and conveyed to readers or audiences, their vocabulary is embedded in revealing, particularized contexts. Unlike early modern theologians, philosophers, physicians, and other specialist writers, creative authors write with an eye to a general readership and heterogeneous, English-speaking theatre audiences.

A primary research source used here is the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), based on etymological principles and providing chronological usages in quotations through history, though I readily concede its limitations. (For example, many entries on ‘emotion words’ have not been updated since the 1880s.) I propose three groups of words in a hierarchy: meta-terms, mega-feelings, and multiple feelings. They would not have been terms used by early modern theorists, but I suggest the principles behind them were recognizable.¹

Meta-Terms

Meta-terms is coined on the analogy of 'metalanguage' (a language used to describe language itself) and with a nod to Jan Plamper who uses 'meta-concept' as 'a nominalist human science' in *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, to cover those words which are used not to describe specific and changing feeling-states, but to describe the internal processes and mental/bodily apparatus by which feelings were conceptualized.² It is offered as an organizational or epistemological category. Here, I suggest five such terms: 'passions,' 'humours,' 'affections,' 'motions,' and 'perturbations.' To these could be added the general word 'feelings' which links sense impressions felt on the body, and their effects ('affects') on the mind.

'Passions,' either as a word used alone or with a possible shade of difference in the apparently more selective phrase 'passions of the soul,' are internal, driving motivations that compel action, located in an individual's mind rather than being stirred by external stimuli. Thomas Wright emphasized the mental process in the title of his book *The Passions of the Mind in General* (1624). Like many of the emotion terms in the period, the word 'passions' has a primary religious inflection as indicated by W. Ayloffe's title, *The Government of the Passions According to the Rules of Reason and Religion* (1700). In this work, the subtitle announces some discrete examples of passions as 'Love, Hatred, Desire, Eschewing, Hope, Despair, Fear, Anger, Delight, Sorrow, &c,' but in its status as a meta-term, the diverse specific forms differ according to individuals and situations.

In general terms, the passions are often described as being 'good' or healthy ones, or unhealthy; a distinction often drawn from ancient times to the eighteenth century as either 'calm' or 'violent' and sometimes expressed through images such as powerful wave movements of the sea.³ Being 'of the soul,' they are states related to religious sentiments, and from Old English times onwards were closely associated with, and referred back to, the passions of Christ and the narrative of his last days (*OED* 1.a). The linkage to the various senses is through the idea that one must be overwhelmingly driven by a single inner motivation or passion which compels one irresistibly to face appalling suffering, a mark of martyrdom (which is also a referent for the word: *OED* 2.a 'the sufferings of a martyr; martyrdom'). Presumably by metaphorical transference, the word was also used in rhetoric to describe certain literary constructions, set-piece passages expressing strong feelings (*OED* II.6.d). In *Hamlet*, for example, Shakespeare uses the word several times in this sense, with special reference to theatrical monologues: 'the cue for passion' (2.2.538), 'tear a passion to tatters' (3.2.9), 'a tow'ring passion' (5.2.81), 'a passionate speech' (2.2.414), and in a stage direction about the play-within-play, 'passionate action' (3.2).⁴ In the same play, we find

passion linked with religion—‘any passion under heaven’ (2.1.106), ‘passion in the gods’ (2.2.495)—and with feelings likened to spiritual states: ‘thought and affliction, passion, hell itself’ (4.5.183); and in the ‘violent’ usage as an overriding, compulsive mental pressure that we would call obsessive or even neurotic: ‘the whirlwind of passion’ (3.2.6). Hamlet praises the rational Horatio for not being susceptible to such uncontrollable states:

Give me that man
That is not passion’s slave, and I will wear him
In my heart’s core, ay, in my heart of heart,
As I do thee.

(3.2.65–67)

The word survives today to describe harmless compulsions like stamp-collecting or football, or more damaging addictions like hoarding and controlling body-image (such as anorexia).⁵ But more commonly, it now refers to amorous attachments, and it is interesting that this secular ‘turn’ in the word’s fortunes was reinforced by early modern writers, Spenser (‘shee grew Full of soft passion ...’ [*The Faerie Queene*, III.v]) and Shakespeare (‘Passion lends them power’ [*Romeo and Juliet*, II Chorus 13]). This was consolidated in the ‘tender passion’ described by eighteenth-century writers like Fielding, meaning little more than love.

‘Humours’ are ‘of the body,’ physiological states that have emotional consequences. Derived from Latin *humor* for ‘moisture,’ the word came into English from French with the Norman Conquest. The medical model was derived from ancient Hippocratic learning extended by Galen, and the word itself had a primarily physiological and medical application, incorporating four fluids which, when in balance with each other, signified good health in the individual and an even-tempered personality, but when out of balance could cause not only bodily ill-health but also behavioural, temperamental, and emotional aberrations.

‘Affections’ is one of the most disputed terms, as the essays in this volume reveal. My suggestion is an understanding in terms of a distinction between passions as located first and foremost within the mind, as it were ‘looking out’ at the external world from an interior vantage point, and affections as the mind’s emotional response to external situations and other people to whom one is attracted or by whom one is repelled. The evidence of the *OED* here is fallible and partial, while the present volume digs much deeper, but it supports the contention: ‘Affection: 1 Senses relating to the mind; 1a The action or result of affecting the mind in some way; a mental state brought about by any influence; an emotion, feeling.’ Affections are, as the root-word ‘affect’ in its verbal sense suggests, the result of the mind of a person being ‘affected’ emotionally by a situation or person, or changed in some way by the encounter: an ‘affect’

or 'affection' can be an 'effect,' a response to a cause. An example from Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* suggests at least that there is a distinction between passions and affections, and arguably exemplifies the kind of difference I am driving at. The Countess is interrogating Helena and insistently asks whether she is in love with her son, '... come, come, disclose | The state of your affection; For your passions | Have to the full appeach'd' (2.1.185–7). In the context of their conversation, the meaning for this can be paraphrased as 'your passion (inner feeling) has informed against you ("peached on you") that you are in love; now, *who* is the person who has stirred your love?' Helena replies immediately, 'Then I confess ... I love your son' (2.1.188, 191). There is another implication, that passions as deep-seated and fixed states of mind, sometimes with a religious association, are few in number, whereas affections can be many and varied depending on the specific external triggers, mainly secular, with which the world bombards and 'affects' the mind. Accordingly, affections might be linked with 'motions' (see later in the chapter) as the closest words to the general 'feelings,' since both incorporate knowledge acquired from the external world through the senses and the way this knowledge is processed by the mind. Some have equated it with 'emotions' as a general term.⁶ Without being categorical, my suggestion is that passions lie in the realm of constants, or at least are very difficult to dislodge, connecting the mind and the soul, while affections (like 'motions') are variable and subject to circumstantial change, and lie on the interface between the mind and the world beyond.

'Sensation' itself is another of Keats's favourite words, also fusing 'sense' and sensuousness. 'O for a Life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts!,' he exclaimed in a letter,⁷ again implying the early modern distinction between passions and affections. Keats's most unambiguously pleasurable reading matter was Elizabethan, especially works by Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Robert, and far more than his Romantic contemporaries, he often demonstrates an inwardness with the earlier age's emotional vocabulary. As a young graduate of medicine at Guy's Hospital, he would have encountered earlier beliefs as well as 'cutting edge' (literally) theories of anatomy and surgery, and with an exactitude implied by capitalization in the same letter he writes, 'I sometimes feel not the influence of a Passion or Affection during a whole week.'⁸

Returning to 'affect,' some contexts suggest a distinction between *affect* itself on the one hand as a spontaneous and involuntary physiological response ('a sinking feeling,' 'butterflies in the stomach,' 'a hair-raising experience'), and *affections* on the other as the feelings generated from the bodily responses. But it is difficult to sustain such a distinction in the range of usages, and as meta-terms, they both come down to a notion of sustained responsiveness to an outer influence. It was again Shakespeare who, although he did not initiate it, may have been instrumental in consolidating and popularizing the most common

modern association of 'affection' with a kind of love, as was the fate of 'passion'. We see, for example, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, 'she loves him with an enraged affection' (2.3.94) and 'Hath she made her affection known to Benedick?' (2.3.114).

My final meta-term, contrary to expectations, is not 'emotions' but 'motions.' It is routinely pointed out that the word 'emotions' was not used in the modern sense in English (though it was in French) until the mid-seventeenth century. Before that, it had a now obsolete, geographical meaning of 'a movement away,' an exodus.⁹ But the word 'motions' did the job just as well, and had done ever since Cicero (*motus animi*, motions of the mind).¹⁰ He advocated activating it in rhetoric to persuade listeners and judges by making them feel what a victim had felt. This is the general word, like 'affections,' used to describe responsiveness to a situation or person, but this time in transient and situational ways that may not last or may be rapidly usurped by another *motion*. This need not be so physiologically based as humoral imbalance (though it could be 'written on the body' in symptoms such as laughter or a blush), but could indicate random, fleeting, or fluctuating feelings. Modern English, in fact, has retained this meaning through the word's derivative, *moved*: 'I was moved to tears by the music,' 'she was moved to give money to the charity,' though in the noun function it is replaced by *emotion* ('her emotion was sympathy for the refugees'). There may be an implication that motions undermine or go against reason ('we were moved despite ourselves'), as in Iago's expression of scepticism in *Othello*: 'But we have reason to cool our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts' (1.3.325–6). For most of the 'emotion words,' reason is the necessary restraining or controlling faculty lest they turn into internalized, fixated passions.

These four terms then, passions, humours, affections, and motions were, I propose, meta-terms used in discussing and making fine distinctions in what we would call the general area of 'feelings' and 'emotions.' Other general terms which could appear as either 'meta-' or 'mega-' include 'appetite' and the less frequent 'perturbation,' which Cicero had also defined as a mental disturbance of reason and a movement away from a balanced point of view or 'the constancy of nature':

Zeno's definition, then, is this: 'A perturbation ... is a commotion of the mind repugnant to reason, and against nature.' Some of them define it even more briefly, saying that a perturbation is a somewhat too vehement appetite; but by too vehement they mean an appetite that recedes further from the constancy of nature.¹¹

Such shifts in feeling ('commotion[s] of the mind repugnant to reason') in early modern English parlance seem interchangeable with those caused by passions and humours, as the central meaning rests on the subversion

of reason and a disorder of the mind. However, in Shakespeare's (rare) usage, its meaning is milder and more modern, more like chronic anxiety or worry. His Richard II addresses the crown metonymically as 'O polished perturbation, golden care' (2 *Henry IV*, 4.3.153), and Falstaff parodies it in his mock-explanation of why he does not hear what he does not want to hear: 'It hath it[s] original from much grief, from study, and perturbation of the brain. I have read the cause of this in Galen; it is a kind of deafness' (2 *Henry IV*, 1.2.105–7). Milton in *Paradise Lost* places the general word amongst more specific states when describing Adam and Eve after the Fall: 'Love was not in their looks...but apparent guilt, | And shame, and perturbation, and despair.'¹² Johnson in his *Dictionary* uses the word in defining such states as 'apathy,' 'madness,' and mental 'tempest.' And to a nation-state, nothing could be more reasonable and rational than the State itself, so early on 'perturbation' took a macrocosmic application to disturbance of the peace, public unrest or disorder (*OED* 1.b), as a troubling disorder of the body politic and authority in general.

Mega-Terms

'Mega-terms' are next on the rung of abstraction, particular feeling-states which are broad and capacious, and are the symptoms or results of overriding passions, out-of-kilter humours, and perturbations. They can lie along a spectrum, from benign feelings through a range of melancholic states to dangerous pathologies. If passions considered in the abstract as a meta-term are generally 'of the soul,' then they manifest themselves in specific states. These can be (healthily, but potentially problematically if carried to excess) love or religious zeal or (unhealthily) anger, despair, jealousy, or congenital hatred. These 'mega-terms' are the subjects explored in whole sections or even books, from classical to modern accounts of the history of emotions. One thinks, for example, of distinctions such as those made by Aquinas between irascible and concupiscible passions, and weighty tomes such as Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Given the connection with the soul, there is usually a religious element to those passions which transgress the control of conscience and alter one's view of life, such as being unable to repent a crime or evil deed. The example of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* shows a successful cure, when he 'blesses unaware' the sea-creatures and accepts his guilt in killing the albatross. For him the *passion* is not the initial casual killing of the albatross, which seems the kind of sudden irrational action akin to a *perturbation*, but his dogged refusal to repent the violation which has disastrous consequences for the human community on the becalmed ship. The main cure recommended for a disturbed passion is the reassertion of conscience through love of God, thus earning his forgiveness, as emphasized by Wright in *The Passions of the Mind in General*. When a person is driven excessively by a passion, it can lead to what

we call a neurosis or obsession, which is not so much a bodily ailment that can be cured by herbal remedies or blood-letting, but requires more spiritual attention. It is that diagnosed by the Doctor when witnessing Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking: 'What a sigh is there! The heart is sorely charged ... This disease is beyond my practice' (5.1.44, 49). He does not use the word *passion* but it is the state he is witnessing: '... infected minds | To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets: | More needs she the divine than the physician' (5.1.62–4).

Physicians could, however, attempt to cure humoral imbalances, which included the four major 'mega-areas' of feeling. Blood was considered warm and moist and, if dominant, would cause a 'sanguine,' bold, and cheerful temperament. If carried to an extreme, however, it could manifest in what we term mania, and would need treatment. Phlegm was cold and moist and would lead to a 'phlegmatic' or apathetic personality which in our modern terminology can mean a state of emotional torpor, non-engagement, and absence of empathy. Choler was associated with yellow bile, hot and dry, causing a 'choleric' and irascible temper. If cold and moist black bile dominated, it caused melancholy, an ailment so broadly conceived (as in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*) that it includes states verging on the negative 'passions of the soul.' As Erin Sullivan has traced, melancholy or its most dangerous manifestation, 'sadness,' could in extreme cases, if not treated, lead to suicide.¹³ Overall, this meant a person could at any one time be in a temporary mood of good or morose 'humour,' or else in a more permanent and constitutional disposition as a personality type. The main practitioner of 'humours comedy' was Jonson, who summarizes it in the 'Induction' to *Every Man out of His Humour* (1599):

So, in every human body,
The choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood,
By reason that they flow continually
In some one part and are not continent,
Receive the name of humours. Now thus far
It may by metaphor apply itself
Unto the general disposition;
As when some one peculiar quality
Doth so possess a man that it doth draw
All his affects, his spirits, and his powers
In their confluxions all to run one way;
This may be truly said to be a *humour*.¹⁴

Multiple Emotions

'Multiple emotions' is a catch-all category for words used to describe specific feeling states that are common, multitudinous, and situational. They may describe particular examples of passions, humours, affections,

or motions, or they may stand alone to describe a singular feeling state such as joy, fear, shame, and others. As a conservative estimate, I have identified over a hundred. They cover the spectrum of what nowadays we would include among 'emotions.' Most have survived in the lexicon of emotions, though in the eighteenth century their meanings were modified, especially in the influential philosophy of David Hume and later Adam Smith. The emphasis changed from an overarching religious emphasis inherent in the early 'passions,' and from the physiology of 'humours' with the rise of anatomy and surgery in medical paradigms, towards an acceptance of a more secular and social concentration on sensibility, sympathy, and benevolence as guiding 'mega-emotions' which were thought to be shared in common by human beings. Arguably, these categories of emotions (for by then the word 'emotion' was becoming normalized in English terminology) were superseding or at least incorporating the earlier language of 'affections.' It was during the eighteenth century, and especially through the works of Hume and Smith, that we can trace the transition away from older religious and medical world-views into a recognizably modern way of thinking about emotions. I have argued elsewhere that the change can also be seen as coinciding with a turn from Natural Law (whose basis had been Christian conscience) towards Natural Rights as the origin of human rights theory in the 1790s. Revolutions such as those in France, America, and indeed across Europe drove calls for democratic and representative government based on Natural Rights thinking.¹⁵ The earlier notions of meta- and mega-terms fell away like unnecessary scaffolding, since they were based on outdated medical and religious world-views. The words kept circulating, but their ambit and meanings changed over time. They became what linguists call *faux amis*, whose meaning we think we know but not where they came from.

Of the many words that fall under the 'multiple feelings' banner in early modern English, I give here just a few examples. Some words in medieval and early modern English held more visual and physical denotations than they do today: 'amazement' (being lost in a maze), 'astonishment' and 'astounded' (dazed by being hit on the head with a stone), and 'bewilderment' (lost in a wild place). It may be possible to analyse the ways these words have changed in terms of the broader mega-terms, for example, as affections ceased to carry a literal meaning of responses to physical stimuli and became absorbed into an evolving interiority of emotional experience in the vocabulary of sentiments and sympathy. Thus, 'astonishment' lost its original, physical connotation to become an internalized sense of surprise.

Other similar semantic changes referenced facts of early modern life no longer pertinent. An example is 'happiness' since its etymology in 'hap,' meaning luck or chance, reflected the reality that life could be 'nasty, brutish and short.' In such a world, happiness was indeed a

chancy, relative, contingent, and by no means reliable state ('perhaps' catches its uncertainty), and its existence owed less to conscious planning and more to luck and *Fortuna* with her forelock which had to be grasped before the fleeting opportunity passed. The reference in the United States' Declaration of Independence to 'the pursuit of happiness' would in earlier times have seemed pathetically misguided, or even a delusional obsession, a *passion*.¹⁶ The distinction makes more than a little difference in Milton's *Paradise Lost* where 'happy' and its cognates appear almost a hundred times. 'Frail is our happiness,' says Eve,¹⁷ and the shades of meanings highlight many of the fundamental questions in this poem, including the extent of human free will when 'happiness' is dependent on the chance occurrence of God's blessing bestowed only if we choose wisely.

As a word which similarly changed meaning through historical processes, we might cite 'enthusiasm.' Derived from Latin *enthusiasmos*, meaning 'Possession by a god, supernatural inspiration, prophetic or poetic frenzy' (OED 1a), 'enthusiasm' was adapted into Christian life as a worthy spirit of ardent religious commitment—Spenser translated the Greek equivalent as 'celestial inspiration.'¹⁸ However, during the religious differences in the Civil War, enthusiasts began to get a bad name as dangerous cranks, and by the eighteenth century, Johnson defined enthusiasm in his Dictionary as 'A vain belief of private revelation, a vain confidence of divine favour or communication,' and he quotes Locke: 'Enthusiasm is founded neither on reason nor divine revelation, but rises from the conceits of a warmed or overweening brain.'¹⁹ By the time of Blake in the 1790s, enthusiasm had become a pejorative, politically dismissive term to ridicule radical non-conformists.²⁰ Its stocks have risen in modern times as it acquired more benign associations, while the political sense has been replaced by 'extremism.'

From Religious to Secular

Exemplary of more general changes from the religious to the secular (or as Hans-Jürgen Diller argues is a more apt word, 'a-moral'²¹) and civic in the eighteenth century, we can consider 'zeal' and 'zealotry.' Coming into English through French from Latin and Greek, it had always meant ardent feeling or fervour, but in early modern writing, like that of the Middle Ages, it could be either negative or positive in application. Wright included it amongst his *Passions of the Mind* (1624, II.iii.63) and warned: 'Zeale (that is, envie, emulation or indignation) and anger shorten thy days.' The 1611 King James Bible (Ezek. 5:13) implies righteous anger: 'They shall know that I the Lord have spoken it in my zeal, when I have accomplished my fury in them.' This sense partially explains the otherwise curious linking of 'zealous' and 'jealous' in biblical phrases (the OED gives examples from the Wycliffite, Coverdale,

and Genevan Bibles under 'Jealous' 1a and 1b), warning against becoming zealous of graven images, as in 'For the Lord your God is a consuming fire, a jealous God' (Deut. 4:24) and 'you shall not worship any other god, for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God' (Ex. 34:14). Zeal in the service of the Christian God is positive, but of any other god is negative and will make Him 'jealous' or angrily possessive. In another twist on the intrinsic ambiguity of the word, 'zeal' was used pejoratively to describe the perceived hypocrisy of Puritans, as in Jonson's unsympathetic depiction in *Bartholomew Fair* of the preacher Zeal-of-the-Land-Busy who disdains 'prophane' festivities while taking part in them.²² As with many words, in particular 'passion' itself, the primary contexts came overwhelmingly from the world-view of Christianity, and in later, more secular times, 'zeal' shed its religious trappings and came to mean a relatively harmless, if earnest, pursuit of some desire.

This pattern was duplicated across the semantics of many words we now commonly use without any residual hint of religious content. 'Sincerity,' for example, whether defined in non-emotional terms as freedom from falsification, or as emotional genuineness, was used in early modern English exclusively in religious contexts, a facet inherited from medieval spiritual writings. Even as late as 1789, we find the sentiment expressed that 'Martyrdom...is a very satisfactory proof of the sincerity of those who voluntarily submit to it' (OED 2.a.). A partial check of the 18,622 occurrences of the word 'sincerity' in *Early English Books Online* (1473–1790) reveals that most early usages are in a strongly religious context. The change to a secular usage of sincere feelings in a range of relationships gathered pace during the eighteenth century, and by the time of Jane Austen, one use of the word in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) might, a century earlier, have been considered indecorous or even incomprehensible: 'Elizabeth's congratulations were given with a sincerity, a warmth, a delight, which words could but poorly express' (Ch. 55).

'Agony' had a more mixed set of applications, fusing the spiritual and the physical, religious and secular. The word came from Latin and Greek, meaning a contest or struggle for victory in games, and it kept something of this secular and physical origin. However, when translated into Christian sources, it took on a quite specific reference. The word existed across medieval and early modern Christian Europe as *agonia* (Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian) and *agonie* (Dutch, German, English from Anglo-Norman *agonye*), and the particular context was the struggle of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane known as 'the agony in the garden,' related in Matthew 26:36–46. Christ declares that his 'soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death' and he instructs his disciples to watch while he prays. However, they fall asleep three times, 'for their eyes were heavy,' and as Jesus says, 'the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.' He knows he will be betrayed and will die. The word *agony* does not appear in the King James translation of Matthew, though

it does in the account given by Luke (22:44): ‘And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground.’ From this the word became associated with bodily pain that manifested itself in convulsions and throes, and was seen as the final struggle before death—the ‘agony of death’ became a recurrent phrase as though the two typically went together. However, the application of the word to acute emotional suffering and anguish of mind was secondary to physical pain, described in the *OED* as ‘in extended and weakened senses.’ Milton, whose accuracy with regard to meanings and etymologies was probably the most acute of any early modern writer’s, gathers the different meanings of struggle, physical pain, death throes, and emotional pain, into the title of his late dramatic poem, *Samson Agonistes* (1671), in which the protagonist undergoes all these kinds of agony in succession. However, in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the word had acquired a surprising new association based on apparently contradictory feelings of pleasure and pain as cited in the *OED*: ‘an agony of Joy and desire inconceivably mixt together’ (Hopkins, *Vanity of the World*, 102); Pope’s translation from the *Odyssey*, ‘With cries and agonies of wild delight’ (3.10.492); and Fielding’s secular use, ‘The first agonies of Joy which were felt on both Sides ...’ (*Tom Jones*, 4.18.x.312). By 2003, it was capable of describing ‘the orgasmic agony of love found’ (*OED* D. Gile, *Gritos*). Ironically, a word which had begun life (in postclassical times) describing the painful religious experience of Christ just before his death, had turned into *le petit mort* of less-than-religious significance. It is the frankly sexual ‘agony’ which climaxes Ian McEwan’s novella, *On Chesil Beach*,²³ and leads after ‘a complicated series of agonized, rising vowels’ (104) to the prematurely explosive end of a marriage on the wedding night. Oddly, this marks a return to the original, Greco-Roman meaning of a struggle, this time not between gladiators but between impulses of restraint and release.

Notes

- 1 I might at the outset acknowledge two recent books with somewhat complementary material, if only to distinguish them from the more limited aim and scope of this essay: Tiffany W. Smith, *The Book of Human Emotions: An Encyclopedia of Feeling from Anger to Wanderlust* (London: Profile Books and Wellcome Institute, 2015) and *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* ed. Susan Broomhall (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).
- 2 Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 12.
- 3 Kirk Essary and Yasmin Haskell, ‘Calm and Violent Passions: The Genealogy of a Distinction from Quintilian to Hume,’ *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 3, no. 1 (2018): 55–81.
- 4 All quotations from Shakespeare’s plays come from the versions found in *The Norton Shakespeare*, gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997).

- 5 See Louis C. Charland, Tony Hope, Anne Stewart, and Jacinta Tan, 'Anorexia Nervosa as a Passion,' *Philosophy, Psychiatry, & Psychology* 20, no. 4 (2013): 353–365.
- 6 A detailed discussion of premodern nuances of the Latinate words can be found in Michael Champion, Raphaële Garrod, Yasmin Haskell, and Juanita Feros Ruys, 'But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *Affectio*, and the History of Emotions,' *Rivista Storica Italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016): 521–543.
- 7 *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 1.185.
- 8 *The Letters of John Keats*, 1.186.
- 9 For the considerable and ever-growing scholarly discussion of the word 'emotions' in English, see especially Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions*; Anna Wierzbicka, 'The "History of Emotions" and the Future of Emotion Research', *Emotion Review* 2, no. 3 (2010): 269–273; Keith Oatley, *Emotions: A Brief History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004); Ute Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); and the refreshingly skeptical article by Kirk Essary, 'Passions, Affections, or Emotions? On the ambiguity of 16th-century Terminology', *Emotion Review* 9, no. 4 (2017): 367–374. On the word's assimilation from French to English see the exhaustive account by Hans-Jürgen Diller, "'Emotion" vs. "Passion": The History of Word-Use and the Emergence of an A-moral Category', *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 52 (2010): 127–151.
- 10 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Bk I, xxxvi.
- 11 Cicero, *The Tusculan Disputations*, trans. Charles Duke Yonge (1888; facsimile repr. Whitefish, MA: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 4.VI.
- 12 John Milton, 'Paradise Lost', in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al., 9th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012), Bk 10, lines 110–113.
- 13 Erin Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy: Sadness and Selfhood in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- 14 Ben Jonson, *Everyman out of his Humour*, ed. Helen Ostovich, *The Revels Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), Induction, lines 96–107.
- 15 For my amplification of these generalizations, see R. S. White, *Natural Law in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s* (London: Palgrave, 2005).
- 16 See White, "'False Friends": Affective Semantics in Shakespeare,' *Shakespeare*, 8, no. 3 (2012): 286–299.
- 17 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, in *Milton: Poetical Works*, ed. Douglas Bush (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), Book 9, line 340.
- 18 Edmund Spenser, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, 'October', in *Spenser: Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1916), 456.
- 19 Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: An Anthology*, ed. David Crystal (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), 218.
- 20 See Jon Mee, *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- 21 Diller, "'Emotion" vs. "Passion".'

- 22 See John M. Lund, 'The Ordeal of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy: The Conflict over Profane Swearing and the Puritan Culture of Discipline', *Journal of American and Comparative Cultures* 25 (2002): 260–269.
- 23 Ian McEwan, *On Chesil Beach* (London: Faber & Faber, 2007).

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16 Reconceptualizing Affect

Descartes on the Passions

Anik Waldow

Descartes dedicated an entire work to the study of the passions: *Les passions de l'âme* (1649) investigates the tight connection that spans from the occurrence of mechanical processes in the human body to the emergence of feelings and thoughts in the soul. By writing a treatise on the passions, on the one hand, Descartes wants to approach the topic as a natural philosopher, that is, as someone who studies the realm of nature in which bodies behave in accordance with the principles of cause and effect (AT 11:326, CSM I 327).¹ Passions are here treated as physiological events that depend in their production and maintenance on the dynamics of the particles of the blood—Descartes' animal spirits—and the nerve structure of body and brain (AT 11:349, CSM I 339). On the other hand, Descartes wants this work to serve his readers as a manual suitable for the control of the passions, affective drives, and appetites.²

Although Descartes' *Passions* is concerned with the description and analysis of a wide range of affective phenomena, such as the production of sensations and images as an effect of the impinging of causal stimuli on the nerve structure of the human body, he more or less consistently uses the French term *passion* instead of the French equivalent of the much broader Latin term *affectus*. In the Latin translation of Descartes' *Opera Philosophica* from 1650, this changes, as Russ Leo has pointed out:

What is striking ... is the extent to which the Latin text—the text that Spinoza read—suggests that the terms *Passiones* and *Affectus* are entirely synonymous. Indeed, the term which connects them in Article 17 is *sive*, simply meaning 'or'. For Descartes, either term might work just as well: *Passiones* or *Affectus*. The French text confirms this insofar as there is no mention of *affectus* at all: 'les unes sont les actions de l'ame, les autres sont ses passions' (AT 342). *Affectus* is absent entirely in the original language. Similar or identical formulations appear in Article 25, 'under the title "passions of the soul"' [*sub nomine Affectuum vel Passionum animae*] (Article 25/RS 338/OP 13) as well as in Article 21, as 'passions of the soul' [*Passiones sive Affectus animae*].

(Article 21/RS 336/OP 11)³

In this chapter, I examine what might have led Descartes to focus on the passions, while more or less avoiding the use of the French cognates of *affectus*. To develop an answer to this question, I will investigate the particular function the passions perform within Descartes' more general endeavour of reforming the standard conception of how interactions between body and soul can be thought. Contrary to many of his predecessors, Descartes did not hold that the soul possesses different parts, but instead believed it to be a unified entity, the essential attribute of which is thought.⁴ An effect of this conceptual shift was that the various individual powers, which in Aristotelian faculty psychology were typically attributed to the different parts of the soul, could now be comprehended as belonging to one single agent: the thinking soul (AT 10: 415–416 and 11:364–366; CSM I 42 and 346). Communication problems between the different powers of the soul could thus be avoided,⁵ and yet the establishment of one singular thinking agent came at a cost. Since Descartes thought of material bodies as soulless entities, it had to be explained how the mechanical motions of the human body could result in something as special as conscious intentional thought. Communication problems, and the conflicts arising from them, were thus shifted, rather than solved, as Deborah Brown notes: 'Descartes replaced all psychic conflict with psychosomatic conflict.'⁶

In what follows, we will see that Descartes' conception of the passions as occurrences that cross the divide between body and mind played a crucial role in dealing with this problem.⁷ For it is the soul's ability to passively receive and actively reorganize its passionate experiences that gives the soul a world in which it can assert itself as a self-determined embodied agent.⁸ The use of the Latin term 'affectus' and its French cognates 'affecter/affection' might have provided Descartes with similar conceptual resources, as they also refer to the interplay of active and passive powers.⁹ Yet, 'affectus' was traditionally used to describe modifications occurring in the sensitive soul, while Descartes was at pains to point out that many of the central functions of this part of the soul must be conceptualized as mechanical processes unfolding in soulless matter.¹⁰ Breaking with the tradition of using 'affect' as a term in the description of sensory and affective processes helps him to highlight this point. It stresses that feeling a passion is not the same as having a body that is affected by the impact of causally efficient stimuli. The first is possible only if the soul's intellect perceives what is happening to the body, while the second can take place without any involvement of the soul, so also without the involvement of the sensitive part of the soul which, in traditional Aristotelian accounts, has to be thought of as informing, and in this sense integrating into, the human body.

The Soul and its Passions

For Descartes, passions have a dual character. They are 'caused, maintained and strengthened' (AT 11:349, CSM I 339) by movements in the

body: the movements of the so-called animal spirits, which are the most rarefied particles of the blood that roam the nerves, pores, and arteries of the heart and brain. Yet, despite having this bodily basis, passions count as mental phenomena in the sense that they are ‘perceptions we refer only to the soul,’ that is, perceptions ‘whose effects we feel as being in the soul itself, and for which we do not normally know any proximate cause to which we can refer them’ (AT 11:347, CSM I 337). To stress that the passions are mental phenomena is important for Descartes. It makes it possible for him to acknowledge that the body, and the world in which the body is placed, can enter into the sphere of the soul’s cognitive life, which, in turn, allows the soul to exert its uniquely human function of controlling its thoughts, feelings, and actions. Before entering into the discussion of the control functions of the soul in the section ‘Embodied Actions,’ let me say a few more words about the manner in which the passions enable the human soul to connect with its body, and the world that affects this body, a consequence of which is that the soul has a world to which it can cognitively relate.

For Descartes, the concept of the passions has both a wider and narrower meaning (AT 11:349, CSM I 338–339). In its wider meaning, ‘passions’ refer to perceptions that result from mechanically triggered motions in the body and count as passive in the sense that they are received rather than actively created by the soul. Mental states that fall under this description are sense perceptions produced ‘by certain movements in the organs of the external senses, and [that] by means of the nerves, produce other movements in the brain’ (AT 11:346, CSM I 337); certain forms of imagining, ‘such as the illusions of our dreams’ and even our daydreams that count as solely caused by the body, ‘without the soul’s applying itself to anything of its own accord’ (AT 11:345, CSM I 336); and natural appetites, such as hunger and thirst (AT 11:346–347, CSM I 337). Passions in the narrow sense arise when we feel wonder, love, hate, desire, joy, and sadness, or a mixture of these six basic passions. Although passions in this narrow sense also count as body-produced, as mentioned earlier, Descartes stresses that we interpret them as belonging to the soul and typically ignore the causal processes that unfold in the body the moment we experience them.

One striking innovation in Descartes’ terminology is that he dispenses with the traditional scholastic distinction between the irascible and concupiscible passions (AT 11:379, CSM I 352), while also considerably reducing the number of basic passions. The kind of change that counts most in our present context, however, is that in Descartes’ framework it holds that the bodily side of the passions is constituted by the motions of matter alone, matter which is, in and of itself, incapable of cognizing what is happening to it. In order to be able to cognize such bodily motion which, in the human case, results in the emergence of the passions, the intellect is needed, and not, as in Aristotelian faculty psychology, a rudimentary cogitative power that resides in the lower parts of the soul.

What is peculiar about this way of thinking about the passions becomes clearer if we compare Descartes with Aquinas who operates with the traditional scholastic concept that understands the soul as being composed of different parts with their own specific powers.¹¹

For Aquinas, actions to which we are moved by the passions cannot occur without the unfolding of a basic form of cognition which is facilitated by the *vis cogitativa*: that is, the cogitative power of the sensitive, lower part of the soul.¹² In this basic form of cognition, the soul does not judge through its intellectual power that resides in its intellectual part; what happens instead is that a lower sensitive appetite responds to the sensitive representations of things that affect the soul. Garry Hatfield puts it like this:

In the Aristotelian scheme, the sensitive power responds to sensible things as being good or evil for the animal, a function that Aquinas ascribed to the “estimative power” of the sensitive soul in nonhuman animals and to the “cogitative power” of the sensitive soul in human beings. This appetitive response is a “movement” in a thing that is moved, and the passions are to that extent passive effects. However, they tend to move the nonhuman animal towards the good and away from evil, and to move the human will in those same directions.¹³

Descartes’ passions also move the human will:

The function of all the passions consists solely in this, that they dispose our soul to want the things which nature deems useful for us, and to persist in this volition; and the same agitation of the spirits which normally causes the passions also disposes the body to make movements which help us to attain these things.

(AT 11:372, CSM I 349)

Yet, as this passage reveals, when Descartes’ passions move the will, they do so by triggering movements in the body, while the soul is taken to perceive these movements. Through this perceiving activity, passions possess the formal status of perceptions and, because of this, count as modes of the *intellect*, so as modes of the highest part of the soul (AT 8A 17, CSM I 204).¹⁴ One important consequence of this view is that it is possible for Descartes to remove from the realm of matter the least shade of anything that could be understood as a cogitative power. This is because cognition—in our case, the cognition of the movements of matter that constitute the physical counterpart of the passions—is left to the intellectual soul itself; as such, it relies on something that does *not* form part of the body, but must be conceived as a separate entity (AT 6:46, CSM I 134).¹⁵ This way of thinking about the soul and its

relationship with the body clearly breaks with the Aristotelian tradition. For the soul is no longer understood as a substantial form that actualizes the human being with its sensitive and cognitive powers, as in Aristotelian hylomorphism.¹⁶ Rather, Descartes takes the soul to be something that is different from but at the same time able to connect with the human body, yet without thereby becoming constitutive of this body and without determining what kind of capacities it has.

One important aspect of Descartes' reconceptualization is that, without accommodating any kind of cognitive powers, the human body can, in principle, be moved like a machine, which happens when the springs and strings of its hydraulic system are set in motion by incoming causal stimuli. Passions may here also arise, provided that the machine is attached to a human soul. And yet it holds that the movements underlying the production of such passions act as efficient causes that move the body, regardless of whether there is in fact a soul connected to this body and ready to perceive the motions in question. The thought experiment of Descartes' *L'Homme* (*Treatise on Man*, written between 1629 and 1633 and first published in 1664) illustrates how we can think of this in more detail. Without being endowed with a soul, Descartes argues, the human animal machine can still sense, imagine, and even move around, only that sensing, imagining, and moving would need to be construed as purely physical phenomena that do not involve any form of thought, intention, or reflection (AT 11:176–178, CSM I 106–107). The human body can thus be understood as a highly complex machine that processes stimuli in accordance with fixed causal principles, an effect of which is that it moves towards (or away from) precisely those objects that the soul would feel passionately about and desire (or feel aversion towards and try to avoid) if it were connected to this body (AT 338 and 341–342, CSM 333–335).

Clearly, the thought experiment of the *Treatise* is designed to show what the body can do without the soul being attached to it. Yet, it is a standing question what the soul actually perceives when it is attached to the machine of the human body but does not follow its bodily processes attentively and therefore behaves as if it were 'elsewhere' (AT 1:413–414, CSMK 62), as Descartes puts it in his letter to Plempius for Fromondus (1637). The body may do what it does—it breathes, walks, eats, and even sees (AT 11:342, CSM I 335)—without the soul's noticing that this is in fact happening. Contrary to this first impression, namely that the soul is not contributing to automated forms of perception, Descartes argues in the *Sixth Set of Replies* that even habitual judgements—which are judgements that relate to perceptions to which we do not specifically attend—involve the intellect.¹⁷ This tells us that the mere presence of the soul entails that it cognitively engages with the processes unfolding in the body, and that this is so even when it is not attending to the fact that

it sees, judges, and moves its body in accordance with its implicit judgments as, for instance, in a situation where someone drives a car, sees the street, judges the situation, and moves the steering wheel accordingly, but does not consciously register that the seeing, judging, and moving are happening.¹⁸

Importantly, the fact that for Descartes the soul is so intimately connected with the human body that it spontaneously contributes to the processing of incoming visual and sensory stimuli not only means that the soul can witness how the world affects its bodily machine, which, in turn, makes it possible for the soul to cognize its surroundings and, more generally, to have a world¹⁹; the soul can also *intervene* to break automatically unfolding processes that would lead from the reception of a certain causal input (such as a feeling of thirst) to the performance of a given action (seeking and drinking water) if left uninterrupted. In the following section, we will see that it is precisely by making use of this intervening function that it is possible for the union of body and mind to constitute itself as a self-determining agent.

Embodied Actions

Despite diverging from the scholastic Aristotelians in conceiving of the soul as a unified single agent, Descartes rather traditionally argued that passions and actions are two sides of the same coin. In the *Passions*, he tells us that ‘a passion in the soul is usually an action in the body’ (AT 11:328, CSM I 328); in his letter to Hyperaspistes (1641) he writes: ‘one and the same thing is called an activity in relation to a terminus *a quo* and a passivity in relation to a terminus *ad quem* or *in quo*’ (AT 3:428, CSMK 193). Descartes here reiterates a conception of action and passion that was standard among his scholastic predecessors.²⁰ But he departs from his predecessors insofar as, for him, the actions unfolding in the body are of a fundamentally different kind from the actions unfolding in the human soul (AT 10:415–416, CSM 42). The first are mechanical movements that are not active in the sense of being self-initiated; this is because, for Descartes, material objects act only insofar as they impact on one another as the result of the initial shove through which the entire universe was set in motion (AT 8A:55–57, 8A:62–63, 3:428; CSM I 234–236, 240–241, CSMK 193). Mental actions, by contrast, are initiated through the soul itself, and are constituted by its volitions: ‘Those [thoughts] I call [the soul’s] actions are all our volitions, for we experience them as proceeding directly from our soul and as seeming to depend on it alone’ (AT 11:342, CSM I 335).

Through its volitional powers, the Cartesian soul is able to actively position itself vis-à-vis the passions produced by the motions in the body. This happens when the soul ‘make[s] an effort to consider a series of

different things' (AT 11:366, CSM I 346). The example to which Descartes refers is a situation where the original movements of the animal spirits caused by the sight of a dangerous object excite fear, a passion that, if left to itself, would move our legs to flight. The will can oppose this mechanically triggered motor effect by considering 'the reasons, objects, or precedents which persuade us that the danger is not great; that we shall gain glory and joy if we conquer, whereas we can expect nothing but regret and shame if we flee; and so on' (AT 11:363, CSM I 345). When acting in this way, the soul functions as the agent that actively (through its volition) opens up a new course of action (that is, resisting flight) different from the course of action (fleeing) that would be realized if the originally triggered movements of the animal spirits and accompanying passion (fear) were left uninterrupted.

Lisa Shapiro has argued that we can even go a step further and claim that, for Descartes, the soul's activity not only alters how we *act*, but also how we *experience* the world in the first place:

Descartes' language consistently suggests that the associations between states of mind and states of body are achieved through some agency on our part (see PA aa. 44, 50, 211, as well as the second half of a.107) and can be something over which we have some control.²¹

In some cases, she adds, even a single event can be sufficient to effect a change in the organization of one's associations.²² Descartes puts this point as follows:

It is also useful to note that although the movements (both of the gland and of the spirits and the brain) which represent certain objects to the soul are naturally joined to the movements that produce certain passions in it, yet through habit the former can be separated from the latter and joined to others which are very different. Indeed this habit can be acquired in a single action and does not require long action. Thus, when we come across something very foul in a dish we are eating with relish, our surprise may so change the disposition in our brain that we cannot afterwards look upon any such food without repulsion, whereas previously we ate it with pleasure.
(AT 11:369, CSM I 348)

Hatfield has objected to this reading, arguing that, for Descartes, the '*principle of psychophysiological regularity* between brain states and mental passions' plays a crucial role.²³ In the *Dioptrics* (1637), argues Hatfield, Descartes 'announces a principle of mind-body interaction according to which brain states cause sensations through an "institution of nature" (6:130*), that is, as a result of a natural connection established

between brain states and sensations even before birth.’ In the *Meditations*, Descartes equally clearly states that ‘nature has “laid it down” that each type of brain state “produces just one corresponding sensation” (7:87).’²⁴ Given that there are these institutions of nature, Hatfield concludes, it is not the case that the Cartesian mind has the power to change how a given brain image affects it at a mental level.

To understand better what motivates this debate, we should note that a general feature of seventeenth-century physiological theories of thinking based on the behaviour of animal spirits is that the traces that these spirits populate and roam are believed to wear out.²⁵ This implies that habits of thought that steer the animal spirits in certain directions of the brain, and through specific traces, can be expected to result in a reorganization of the structural features of the brain. This happens when the same type of causal input (such as the perception of a dangerous object), which under normal circumstances would trigger a fear response, does not do so in someone who has successfully altered (that is, widened, deepened, reshaped, etc.) the traces responsible for the processing of these stimuli, so that on the output side of this processing mechanism another passion arises. This passion is different from fear simply because the processing dynamics engendered through the newly instantiated brain physiology is different. Hatfield agrees with this reading, yet he stresses that what arises here is a change in a brain-brain connection and not a change in a brain-mind connection.

Putting it this way is perhaps accurate in terms of diagnosing the level at which change takes place, but to my mind this formulation somewhat conceals what is remarkable about Descartes’ account of mind-body interaction and what also seems to be one of Shapiro’s main points: namely that, for Descartes, it is clear that humans can wilfully change how they mentally respond to what confronts them in the world, precisely because their will is able to influence not only their thoughts but also their brains.²⁶ For when they wilfully form thoughts, these thoughts manifest at the physiological level through specific movements of the pineal gland and thereby oppose movements initiated by external causal stimuli:

We observe conflict ... between the force with which the spirits push the gland so as to cause the soul to desire something, and the force with which the soul, by its volition to avoid this thing, pushes the gland in a contrary direction.

(AT 11:365–366, CSM I 346)

We can thus say that, for as long as the mind’s wilfully initiated thoughts last, the topography of the brain’s traces and pores remains altered, simply because the movements that widen and pressure these traces and pores have been altered. Moreover, on Descartes’ account it also seems to hold that if the movements initiated by the soul are frequently

repeated, or are so forceful that they leave deep trenches in the affected brain tissue, the will is able to change more permanently the very structure through which incoming causal stimuli are being processed. The will thereby changes through its own actions the way the union of body and mind responds to the world.

Through this rechannelling of its experiences, the union of body and mind in principle creates itself anew: it does not simply *follow* the causal play of nature, but can instead act in line with will and understanding, and through habit and training alter the ways in which the brain predisposes the union to experience the world.²⁷ This kind of creative rechanneling might not work for all kinds of experiences: sensory experience, or some pain experiences, might be produced through deeply ingrained brain structures, so that mere habits of thought cannot easily overwrite the traces responsible for their creation.²⁸ But it works for some of our affective states, so that the control of the passions around which Descartes' *Passions* ultimately revolves, becomes a realistic option.

To be sure, humans can create themselves only in a limited sense, namely by making use of their God-given capacities (intellect, will, senses, imagination, etc.) and as a result of having been created as ensouled beings in the first place; they do not create themselves *ex nihilo*, but simply work with what they have. However, the important point of this type of self-creation is that it gives humans a distinguished status,²⁹ for in the Cartesian universe no other embodied creature is able to break apart and reorganize the otherwise fixed institutions of nature. As I have argued before, humans can do this by producing at will new causal pathways that lead from the intake of perceptual stimuli to the production of a particular range of passions and perceptions, pathways that would not exist without their volitional effort to think certain thoughts that, in turn, breed dispositions to feel and act in certain ways.

Given that this type of self-creation is unique to humans, it counts as an important marker of what it means to be human.³⁰ Moreover, as we have seen earlier, human self-creation is possible only insofar as the soul is capable of passively receiving and actively working with the affections of the body. To offer an account that stresses the dual character of the soul's activity and passivity in the reception of body-produced passions thus turns out to be of crucial importance for Descartes.

Conclusion

For many philosophers before and after Descartes, affect described a modification in substance. An implication of this traditional way of thinking about affect is that even matter can be affected,³¹ a thought that, for Descartes, must have appeared rather misleading in the context of thinking about the human capacity to feel emotionally affected. This is because, for him, the cognition of an emotional affect requires

the intellect, a capacity that, on his account, has its seat in the immaterial substance of the soul. Using the more specific term 'passion' where others used the term 'affectus' thus signals more than Descartes' mere commitment to the vernacular. It reveals his effort to distance himself from a metaphysical set-up that, to his mind, imbues matter with powers it does not have.

Moreover, by narrowing down the notion of affect by treating the reception of bodily motions in the soul as a passion, Descartes was able to draw attention to the specifically passive capacity of the soul's intellectual power. In line with his general conception of matter, this form of passivity was understood to be very different from the way bodies respond when being affected by one another. It was conceived as involving a form of perceptual cognition that renders it possible for the soul wilfully to interact with its passionate responses, so that it can actively take part in how the world affects it.

Replacing *affect* through *passion* thus made it possible for Descartes to do two things at once: first, to stress that there is a crucial difference between the agent/patient interactions of material entities and the interplay of passive and active capacities of a thinking substance, because passions, as Descartes explicitly states, can only be had by a being with a soul; and second, to glue back together what his substance dualism leaves separate: the human body and its soul that, for Descartes, count as two different entities which, despite their separateness, affect one another in their actions and passions and thereby open up a world in which the soul can assert itself.

Notes

- 1 The abbreviations to editions of Descartes' works are as follows: AT: René Descartes, *Oeuvres de Descartes*, ed. Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, 12 vols (Paris: Léopold Cerf, 1879–1913; rev. ed. Paris: J. Vrin, 1964–1976); CSM: René Descartes, *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, Vols. 1–2, trans. John Cottingham et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984/1985); CSMK: René Descartes, *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, Vol. 3: The Correspondence, trans. John Cottingham et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 2 Descartes denies that he approaches the topic of the passions as a moral philosopher in the second prefatory letter to the *Passions*; yet, the articles towards the end of each of the three parts (aa. 50, 148 and 211–212) deal with the mastery of the passions and the pursuit of virtue. For readings that stress the specifically moral orientation of the *Passions*, see also Deborah Brown, *Descartes and the Passionate Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Lisa Shapiro, 'Descartes' Passions of the Soul and the Union of Mind and Body,' *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 85, no. 3 (2003): 211–248; and Shapiro, 'Descartes' Ethics,' in *A Companion to Descartes*, ed. Janet Broughton and John Carriero (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 445–463.

- 3 Russ Leo, 'Affective Physics: *Affectus* in Spinoza's *Ethica*,' in *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis (London: Routledge, 2013), 36–37.
- 4 See Susan James, *Passion and Action* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 90; Brown, *Descartes and the Passionate Mind*, 48–49; Garry Hatfield, 'The Passions of the Soul and Descartes's Machine Psychology,' *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 38 (2007): 1–35.
- 5 See Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 225; James, *Passion and Action*, 90–91; and Brown, *Descartes and the Passionate Mind*, 48.
- 6 Brown, *Descartes and the Passionate Mind*, 49.
- 7 When I speak here of passions as connecting the soul with the human body I do not think of them as straddling modes that can belong to two different substances at the same time, as claimed by Paul Hoffman, 'Cartesian Passions and Cartesian Dualism,' *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly* 71 (1990): 310–333. In what follows I will bracket this ontological question and conceive of the connection in question in cognitive terms, that is, as arising through the intellect's perceptions occasioned by motions in the human body.
- 8 In arguing that the union of body and mind can constitute itself through the wilful organization of its thoughts and actions I follow Shapiro, 'Descartes' Passions of the Soul.' See Amy M. Schmitter, 'How to Engineer the Human Being: Passions and Functional Explanation in Descartes,' in *A Companion to Descartes*, 426–444, and Dominik Perler, 'Human Being,' in *The Cambridge Descartes Lexicon*, ed. Lawrence Nolan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 369–379, for an equally strong emphasis on the possibility of reorganizing the manner in which the mind relates to the world.
- 9 See Kirk Essary, 'Passions, Affections, or Emotions? On the Ambiguity of 16th-Century Terminology,' *Emotion Review* 9, no. 4 (2017): 1–8, and Michael Champion et al., 'But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,' *Rivista storica italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016): 521–543 for an overview of the history of the concept of *affectus* in the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and early modern period.
- 10 See James, *Passion and Action*, Ch. 4.
- 11 For further discussion of Aquinas's account of *affectus*, see Robert Miner, *Thomas Aquinas on the Passions: A Study of Summa Theologiae Ia2ae 22–48* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), and the essay by Miner in this volume.
- 12 See Brown, *Descartes and the Passionate Mind*, 43.
- 13 Hatfield, 'The Passions of the Soul,' 9–10.
- 14 Ibid., 11.
- 15 See Daniel Garber, *Descartes Embodied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 268, for a discussion of Descartes' claim that Aristotelians mentalize the realm of matter.
- 16 See James, *Passion and Action*, 30–46, for a discussion of the metaphysical aspects of hylomorphism; also see John Carriero, *Between Two Worlds* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 137–142, for a reconstruction of Aquinas's Aristotelian theory of perceptual cognition in comparison to Descartes' theory of sensory perception.
- 17 See Alison Simmons, 'On the Cognitive Structure of Sensory Experience,' *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 67, no. 3 (2003): 549–579 for a detailed account of the type of contributions the intellect provides to perceptual judgments.

- 18 Relatedly, Lilli Alanen, 'Self-Awareness and Cognitive Agency in Descartes's Meditations,' *Philosophical Topics* 44, no. 1 (2016): 3–26 argues that the role of the will in perceptual judgements is to focus and direct attention to what is perceived, even if the activity of the will itself is not consciously perceived.
- 19 Perler, 'Human Being,' 377, rightly points out that in the *Comments on a Certain Broadsheet* (1647) Descartes states that all of our ideas are innate, including our pains and perceptions of colour and sound. However, Descartes here also notes that 'the mind can display them to itself' only 'on the occasion of certain corporeal motions' (AT 7B:359, CSM I 304), thereby stressing that being able to cognitively connect with the word of matter requires the bodily machine to be affected by this world.
- 20 See James, *Passion and Action*, 91 and 72–73.
- 21 Shapiro, 'Descartes' Passions of the Soul,' 230.
- 22 Ibid., 228.
- 23 Hatfield, 'The Passions of the Soul,' 24, his emphasis.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 This kind of physiological explanation is, as John Sutton has argued, what lies at the heart of Descartes' account of memory: see John Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), especially 102–106.
- 26 Thus, Descartes states: 'Our soul and body are so linked that once we have joined some bodily action with a certain thought, the one does not occur afterwards without the other occurring too' (AT 11:407, CSM I 365). In this context, love is treated as a passion that arises when the soul willingly joins itself to the nourishing juices of the blood.
- 27 Schmitter, 'How to Engineer the Human Being,' 442, calls this the re-engineering of the human being:

Effects that were not originally functional might be reengineered to become functional: we might for instance, manage our passions to harness their physiological effects to improve bodily health, even if that were not originally part of the "natural" function of the passions.
- 28 See Shapiro, 'Descartes' Passions of the Soul,' 231.
- 29 For a more detailed discussion of how, in the Cartesian framework, the capacity to perform wilful action renders us human, see Anik Waldow, 'Activating the Mind: Descartes' Dreams and the Awakening of the Human Animal Machine,' *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 94, no. 2 (2017): 299–325.
- 30 Similar claims can be formulated for a hylomorphic conception of the human being, but with Descartes' dualism, the specific manner in which we can conceive of mind-body interaction and the potential for creating the self significantly changes.
- 31 This is exactly the use we find in Spinoza; see Leo, 'Affective Physics,' 37.

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17 Defining the Emotions in the Post-Cartesian Humanism of Giambattista Vico

Daniel Canaris and Francesco Borghesi

Introduction

The interest of Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) in the emotions spanned his career as a philosopher and academic at the University of Naples.¹ Significantly, his first publication was a poem printed in 1693 with the title *Affetti di un disperato* (*The Affects of a Man in Despair*).² In his final work, the third edition of *Scienza nuova* (*New Science*), published posthumously in 1744, the emotions are placed at the heart of his philosophy of history as the fundamental civilizing impulse necessary for society.³ Although Vico never offers a definition of the emotions in the manner of Aquinas, Suarez, or Descartes, his writings serve as an interesting interlingual case study for tracing their semantic development as he shifts from the Latin of *Orationes inaugurales* (*Inaugural Orations*, 1699–1707), his treatise on metaphysics and epistemology, *De antiquissima italorum sapientia* (*On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians*, 1710), and his monumental treatise on Roman law, *Diritto universale* (*Universal Right*, 1720–1722), to the Italian of his later historiographical works (in particular the three editions of the *Scienza nuova*, 1725, 1730, and 1744).⁴

The word most commonly used by Vico to discuss the emotions in his Latin works and early vernacular poem *Affetti di un disperato* is *affectus* and its Italian derivative *affetti* (affects), though other terms such as *affectiones* (affections) and *perturbationes* (disturbances) also make appearances. We can identify only two instances in Vico's Latin corpora where he employs *passiones* (passions). In his third inaugural oration, Vico simply cites the title of Descartes' *Les passions de l'âme*.⁵ The word appears again in *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (*Study Methods*) where Vico laments the inability of youths to colour their discourse with emotion.⁶ Vico was thus aware that *passiones* could be used in Latin, but he almost always opted for *affectus*.

In many passages, especially the *Affetti di un disperato*, the affects are associated with morbidity and bodily degeneration. Emblematically, in the *De antiquissima*, Vico prescribes the uprooting of *affectus* for the restoration of sound judgement:

In order to be more prudent in the search for truth, I would say that it is better to eradicate the affects than prejudices. In fact, prejudices

can never be eliminated while an affect remains; instead, once an affect is spent, the mask we had imposed on reality falls and true reality itself remains.⁷

In Vico's early Latin works at least, the *affectūs* are seldom considered goods to be promoted in their own right. Indeed, at this stage, Vico only contemplates a positive role for the affects as part of the tool-set of the rhetorician: 'But this study method is so harmful to young people that later on they do not conduct themselves in civic life with sufficient prudence, nor are they able to colour and inflame appropriately an oration with the affects.'⁸ Lacking a rhetorical application, *perturbationes animi* (disturbances of the mind) would seem to have a more limited semantic field, which also is decidedly negative, described as *pravae* (vicious) or the result of *prava cupiditas* (vicious desire). Nevertheless, in the *De antiquissima*, the *affectūs animi* (affects of the mind) and *perturbationes animi* (disturbances of the mind) are placed in apposition with the implication that both terms are roughly synonymous.⁹

Vico's lexical choices for the emotions shift dramatically in his Italian works published from the 1720s. In the 1744 *Scienza nuova*, there is an overwhelming preference for *passioni* (48 occurrences) over *affetti* (2 occurrences). On both occasions when the latter term is used, it is paired with *passioni*.¹⁰ This not only reveals that Vico considered these terms as semantic equivalents in Italian but also suggests that in the vernacular prose of the time, *passioni* was much more commonly used to describe emotions and that there was a perceived need to explain *affetti* with reference to it. A glance at the writings of Vico's contemporaries would seem to corroborate this. In Paolo Mattia Doria's *Vita civile* (1729), for instance, *passioni* is used over 169 times and *affetti* on only three occasions.¹¹

The casual substitution of terminology was a function of the diglossia encompassing the diffusion and discussion of ideas about the emotions in early modern Naples. Since the arrival of Tommaso Cornelio (1614–1684) in Naples in 1649, and his founding of the *Accademia degli Investiganti* in 1663 with Leonardo Di Capua (1617–1695), the Cartesian understanding of the body as a machine proved influential in Neapolitan physiology.¹² But Descartes' *Les passions de l'âme* was primarily known in the Latin translation published in 1650 at Amsterdam.¹³ While the title of this translation is rendered as *Passiones animae per Renatum Des Cartes*, at the beginning of the 'Prima Pars,' the title is further elaborated as 'Passiones, sive affectus animae' (The passions, or the affects of the soul).¹⁴ 'Affect' is not a term that appears in the original French version of Descartes' treatise, but the Latin translation frequently employs it in conjunction with 'passiones' either as a descriptor ('Passiones sive Affectus,' 'Passiones sive Affectus animae,' etc.)¹⁵ or even by itself as a direct

translation of ‘passion’ (for instance, ‘la passion de la joie’ is rendered as ‘laetitia affectus’).¹⁶ Evidently, by the mid-seventeenth century, the finer lexical distinctions developed by the scholastics had yielded to the practical equivalence espoused by Augustine in the *De civitate Dei*.¹⁷

This essay will trace the development in Vico’s vocabulary of emotions as his interests move from physiology and metaphysics towards political theory. It will consider how Vico’s earliest discussion of emotions in his poem *Affetti di un disperato* (1693) was informed by the eclectic post-Cartesian humanism of contemporary Naples. While certain features of the *affetti* are characteristic of Cartesian approaches to the emotions, Vico casts doubt on the efficacy of Descartes’ moral philosophy in counteracting the sufferings brought by the *affetti*. In the second inaugural oration delivered in 1700, Vico considers the *affectūs* as an impediment to the cultivation of wisdom. Due to the formal university context for which this piece was intended, Vico’s language here is traditional and hearkens back to scholastic categories that had been rejected by Descartes. While the *affectūs* are overwhelmingly seen in negative terms, Vico concedes that they can play a role in instilling a moral sensibility through the pangs of guilty conscience. He builds upon this insight in the *Diritto universale* (1720–1722), where the *affectūs* are given a more overt role in the development of ethical consciousness. In the three editions of the *Scienza nuova*, much of the metaphysical argument developed in the *Diritto universale* is shed and *affectūs* is almost always rendered into Italian as *passioni*. Although this could signal a desire to depart from the metaphysical connotations of *affectus*, the return to *affectus* in his 1732 oration *De mente heroica* (delivered two years after the second edition of the *Scienza nuova*) would suggest that Vico saw *passioni* as the rough vernacular equivalent to *affectūs*.

The *Affetti di un disperato* (1693)

Vico’s first publication was produced in an environment of political and ecclesiastical persecution. At the time, the Neapolitan Inquisition was raging against leading freethinkers, who were promoting Cartesianism, Epicureanism, atomism, and ‘atheism’ in Naples.¹⁸ In his *Vita*, Vico presents himself as having been removed from Naples during this time, serving as a tutor for the Rocca family in Vatolla. Upon his supposed return to Naples, conveniently dated 1695, just when the Inquisition was winding down, he professes his shock and dismay at how Cartesian physics in his native Naples had displaced Scholasticism, claiming that he was received in Naples as if he were a ‘foreigner in his own homeland’ (‘forestiero nella sua patria’).¹⁹ Vico’s supposed insulation from Naples’ avant-garde clashes with the documentary evidence and his close

personal connection with many of the leading enthusiasts of the modern ideas condemned by the Inquisition.²⁰ The *Affetti di un disperato* also evinces Vico's strong emotional response to the events unfolding in Naples in the early 1690s.²¹ Scholarship since Benedetto Croce and Fausto Nicolini has mostly focused on the poem's Lucretian allusions and pessimism as evidence of Vico's adolescent espousal of Epicureanism, but the poem also offers one of Vico's most intricate meditations on the affects and sows the seed of his later rejection of Cartesianism.

The *affetti* of the poem are depicted as physical and mental torments ('martiri') that afflict the poem's persona with inexorable fatalism ('e son già instrutti a farci strazio i fati') and sheer passivity.²² No remedy allows the persona to escape the influence of the affects on his psychological and corporeal state. Heraldng the emphasis on corrupted human nature in Vico's later writings on the affects, these sufferings are represented as an act of divine retribution for human crimes: 'along with our faults our evils I have grown too highly over the others of ages past' ('di pari con le colpe i nostri mali I crebber sugli altri delle prische etati troppo altamente').²³ The fatalistic passivity with which the affects are experienced is reminiscent of Descartes' *Les passions de l'âme*. Crucially, however, Vico qualifies that these affective states are at least in part a result of the malign influence of the stars or one's time of birth:

Now throw in my face, if ever you can,
some of your favours, o cruel stars!
Go, I beg you, and find them now
among the motions of the benign heavens
that down here influence less happy joys.

[Rinfacciatemi or voi, s'unqua potete,
qualche vostro favor, stelle crudeli!
Ite, e ven prego, a ritrovarlo omai
entro quei moti de' benigni cieli,
che 'nfluiscon qua giù gioie men liete.]²⁴

In Renaissance treatises on the passions such as Ficino's *Three Books on Life*, melancholy is in part attributed to celestial causes, especially Saturn under whose influence Ficino was believed to have been born.²⁵ While Cartesianism with its systematic doubt and mechanistic cosmology was inherently opposed to any valorization of the occult, astrology was taken seriously in medical practice in the avant-garde scientific circles of early modern Naples. For instance, Di Capua's interest in astrology stemmed from a humanistic outlook whereby the disciplines spurned by the Cartesian method, such as philology and history, played a central role in the physician's armoury. After exhorting physicians to follow Galileo in the cultivation of geometry, Di Capua insists that knowledge of the

birth and setting of stars, the variety of climates and the like, are essential tools in diagnosis, citing Hipparchus's (190–120 BCE) remark that a doctor ignorant of astronomy is akin to an 'eye deprived of its visual power' ('occhio privo della visiva potenza') and the Arab astrologer Abu Ma'shar's (787–886) desire that 'the science of stars be beginning and guide to that medicine' ('la scienza delle stelle a quella medicina, principio, e guida sia').²⁶

These departures from Cartesian orthodoxy signal Vico's participation in the developing critique of Cartesian medicine in scientific circles of the time. At the beginning of the *Ragionamento settimo* of the *Parere*, Di Capua laments the almost insuperable 'dubiousness' ('dubbietà') and 'incertitudes' ('incertezze') of medicine, which leaves the inexperienced wayfarer wandering in a 'thick, and unknown wood' ('folta, e non conosciuta selva') that is like a 'confused labyrinth' ('confuso laberinto').²⁷ In a similar vein, the dark woods inhabited by the persona of the *Affetti* suggest an individual who lacks Descartes' confidence in the progress of knowledge and exudes scepticism about the possibility of ever attaining certainty about what the affects are and the nature of their operation. Against Descartes' meticulous and definite division of the passions and their functions, Vico protests 'so many are the shifts of your thousand attacks, which my heart endures, that I do not know you well, yet I sense you' ('son tanti, che lo mio cor dura, di mille vostre offese i vari giri, ch'i' non ben vi conosco e pur vi sento').²⁸

Nonetheless, like Di Capua, Vico implicitly accepts many of the mechanistic presuppositions of Cartesian physiology. The soul is not the form of the body or even the source of its life as in scholastic philosophy. Rather, Vico mentions a 'fiery force' ('[i]nfocato vigore') that gives life to the body of every animal, perhaps in vague allusion to the vital spirits in Descartes' physiology. No reference is made to humoral imbalance in accounting for the melancholy of the poem's persona. The affects are depicted in exclusively physical terms with a medical lexicon whereby they are compared with diseases ('morbi'): 'under the weight | of new diseases the heavy and frail bodies | moan lifeless' ('sotto il pondo | di novi morbi i gravi corpi e frali | gemono smorti').²⁹ Efficient causation provides the means by which the corporeal mechanisms of the affects communicate in an aetiological chain, which circulate like blood to and from the heart:

Now you, burning sighs,
go and dry my tears in the middle of
my brow full of moisture;
and you, my tears struck by my sighs,
returning downwards, take revenge on them (sighs)
by submerging them into the depths of my sad heart.

[Or voi, sospiri accesi,
ite a seccarmi i pianti in mezzo al varco
del ciglio d'umor carico;
e voi, da miei sospir miei pianti offesi,
tornando in giù, di lor vi vendicate
con sommergerli adentro 'l mesto core.]³⁰

The quest for epistemic certainty leaves the persona of the poem in a state of existential confusion as that inner light of conceptual clarity ('la bella luce che fa l'alme chiare') finds itself partially extinguished by a veil that shadows the soul in angst, leaving it to question 'who am I?' ('chi sono?').³¹ Although Vico would only make his decisive break with Cartesian rationalism through the constructionalist epistemology of the *verum factum* principle proposed in the *De antiquissima italorum sapientia* of 1710, there was clearly a budding dissatisfaction with Descartes' theory of the affects early in Vico's intellectual career. The *Vita* provides some clues as to how Vico situated his own understanding of the affects in relation to Descartes as it singles out *Les passions de l'âme* as emblematic of how the Cartesian system, while useful for medicine, had failed to articulate a moral philosophy.³²

In emphasizing the medical application of Descartes' treatise, Vico echoes Descartes' own remarks in his prefatory letter, where he professes that his intention was 'to explain the passions only as a natural philosopher, and not as a rhetorician or even as a moral philosopher.'³³ Yet when insisting upon the physiological ramifications of the affects, he articulates a moral philosophy, whereby the passions are to be managed and redirected to promote human flourishing through an intellectual approach. But Vico, like Elisabeth of Bohemia before him, finds such intellectualism most unsatisfying. The persona of the *Affetti di un disperato* relates the relationship between his soul and body as two adversaries set against each other by a cruel fate. His body 'sickly, afflicted, and tired' ('infermo, afflitto e stanco') is now on the verge of death ('ch'omai par venir manco') and torments his soul with bitter and painful suffering ('strazia l'alma con pene aspre, noiose').³⁴ Conversely, the sick soul (literally, 'my better half' or 'l mio miglior') harasses the body with cruel plagues ('affligge 'l corpo con crudeli pesti').³⁵ Virtue is no remedy for the vicious vortex of emotions in which he has been ensnared. His limbs do not respond to the prompting of his soul because his virtues seem powerless except insofar as they make him experience the effects of indignation. Moreover, Descartes' advice to redirect thoughts towards eternal felicity is of no avail, as reflection upon the 'counterpoise' ('contrario') does nothing but increase suffering.³⁶ The Cartesian assumption that the mind of an intellectual endowed with virtue can remain unperturbed by the onslaught of the passions falters before their sheer

disruptive power. The melancholic state of the persona distorts his perception, making joy seem ‘pains and travails’ (‘pene e travagli’), just as milk refracted through a red gemstone looks like blood and ice flames.³⁷ Hence, Vico’s only recourse is to indulge in the perverse pleasure of pain, which he claims assuages his grief (‘alleggi in parte ’l mio cordoglio’).³⁸

The Second Inaugural Oration (1700)

Vico returns to the affects seven years later in the oration ‘No enemy is more dangerous and hostile towards an enemy than the fool towards his own self’ (‘Hostem hosti infensioem infestioemque quam stultum sibi esse neminem’), which was the second in a series of seven orations delivered from 1699 to 1708 on the feast of St Luke (18 October) to inaugurate the academic year in his capacity as Professor of Rhetoric.³⁹ As pedagogic pieces, these orations sought to inculcate in newly matriculated students the desire to cultivate *sapientia*, *eloquentia*, and *prudentia* in accordance with the ideals of humanistic education.⁴⁰ Whereas his first oration pursued this aim by exhorting the audience to the mastery of self-knowledge, the second oration constructed an antitype of these ideals by detailing the self-destructiveness of the *stultus*. The term *affectus* appears twice at a climactic moment in the middle of the oration. In a graphic allegory, Vico compares the destructiveness of the passions with a war in which hatred and anger are fired up in the breasts of the combatants and fury blinds the mind. The difference, Vico says, is that the operation of the affects inside the mind of the *stultus* turns out to be far more destructive than war:

The weapons of the fool are his own unrestrained affects. The power that overcomes him is his conscience. The homeland of which he is deprived is the whole world. The dungeon into which he is thrown is his own body. The tyrant to which he surrenders himself is Fortune. Please, O listeners, continue to give me your attention and goodwill as you have done while I elaborate each of these themes.⁴¹

Consistent with Vico’s later works, such as the *Diritto universale* and the *Scienza nuova*, the affects swirling in the mind of a *stultus* are described as a consequence of humanity’s fallen nature.⁴² But far from valorizable social goods, the affects are penalties of *stultitia*, which is the polar opposite of *sapientia*, the rational goal of human nature.⁴³ Despite the influence of Cartesianism over contemporary intellectual discourse about the affects, Vico reinterprets the perpetual conflict of the ‘duo adversari’ (‘two adversaries’) sketched in the *Affetti di un disperato* through the lens of the Thomistic division between the concupiscible and the irascible appetites. To muddy the waters further, he subsumes this division under Philo of Alexandria’s (20 BCE–50 CE) designation of ‘desire’ and

‘high spirit’ (that is, anger) as two irrevocably opposed horses, the one female and the other male.⁴⁴ Descartes famously challenged Aquinas’s distinction, arguing that such a division compromised the unity of the soul.⁴⁵ Even Suarez, whom Vico studied attentively as part of his education under Jesuit tutors at the Collegio Massimo in Naples, believed that Aquinas’s distinction was only operative on a conceptual level and could not be taken literally.⁴⁶ While Vico’s language here suggests that he is more interested in exploring the rhetorical potential of Philo’s metaphor than in constructing a precise taxonomy of the affects, in the *De antiquissima*, he confirms his belief in the physiological reality of this distinction, attributing concupiscence to blood and anger to bile, both of which reside in the heart (‘praecordia’).⁴⁷ Vico was by no means alone amongst his contemporaries for holding to these scholastic concepts. Notably, the physician Luca Tozzi (1638–1717), in his mediation of the Cartesian culture of the moderns and the Galenic-Aristotelianism of the ancients, bestows upon the irascible and concupiscible appetites a functional role in his taxonomy of the affects.⁴⁸

The treatment of the *affectūs* as the ‘weapons of the *stultus*’ might suggest that the affects are inextricably opposed to reason, yet it is not the affects per se that plunge the mind of the *stultus* into a sea of emotional disturbances (‘perturbationes’), but the depraved cupidity (‘prava cupiditas’) of an apparent good (‘apparens bonum’) that brings about love (‘amor’).⁴⁹ The particular effect of *amor* on a subject’s emotional state depends on the relationship of the apparent good with the subject. Desire (‘desiderium’) springs into the mind when the good is far away, belief that a good is obtainable kindles hope (‘spes’), the subject experiences joy (‘gaudium’) when in possession of good, jealousy (‘zelotypia’) stems from the belief in the good’s excellence, whereas envy (‘invidia’) stems from another’s possession of a good that we lack.⁵⁰ The realization that this good is but artificial (‘fucatum’) and transient (‘fluxum’) masking an evil (‘malum’) does not dissipate the affects but enkindles hatred, the opposite of love (‘odium amori contrarium’).⁵¹ Other affects ensue: if the evil is near, loathing (‘abominatio’) or desire to flee (‘fuga’); if the evil is far away, sadness (‘tristitia’) or grief (‘dolor’).⁵² The irascible appetite (‘irascibilis appetitus’) is then represented in traditional terms as the natural response to cupidity, which it drives away with anger.⁵³

The issue, Vico reiterates, is not the presence of the concupiscible and irascible appetites as such, but the failure to cultivate *sapientia*. Without *sapientia*, ‘desires are in flux, fears groundless, “the joys of the mind are criminal,” and only fears are strong’ (‘fluxa vota, timores irriti, “mala mentis gaudia,” soli timores solidi’).⁵⁴ Yet, even in the most depraved individuals, an element of rationality remains in the human mind, as evidenced by the wicked people who exhibit the innate tendency to praise virtuous activity despite the viciousness of their personal state. The *stultus* too feels the pangs of guilty conscience or a ‘gravissimum malum,’

which guides him to the perception of virtue and makes him pine for it.⁵⁵ In essence, Vico affords the affects a limited corrective role in the moderation of vice. Nonetheless, *sapientia* and *affectus* are still seen in opposition, as the acquisition of virtue depends upon one ‘seizing the reins of the affects and emotional disturbances’ (‘Quandoquidem ratio, a virtutis pulchritudine, ad quam nata est, commota, arripit affectuum ac perturbationum habenas’).⁵⁶

Diritto universale (1720–1722)

A turning point in Vico’s understanding of the affects takes place in the *Diritto universale*. This three-volume text ostensibly explains the development of Roman law in light of universal metaphysical principles, but adumbrates many of the innovative theories featured in the *Scienza nuova*, such as Vico’s theory of the three ages, the gestural origin of language, and the sublimity of the primitive imagination. Interestingly, in the *Vita*, Vico asserts that the ‘argument’ of the *Diritto universale* was already present in embryo in the second inaugural oration.⁵⁷ Indeed, both the second oration and the *Diritto universale* share the conviction that the affects are the result of fallen human nature and overwhelmingly convey the sense that movement towards higher forms of rationality requires their moderation. But as we shall see, in the *Diritto universale*, this notion is presented with a far greater nuance that affords the *affectūs* a much more explicit role in the development of ethical consciousness.

In the first volume of the *Diritto universale*, the *De uno universi iuris principio et fine uno*, Vico introduces the idea that the *affectūs* are a natural feature of the human condition. Interestingly, unlike in the *Scienza nuova*, the *affectūs* are not proper to the first stage of human history, which in Vico’s mind corresponds with childhood, a period defined by the power of the senses, but rather with the second, adolescence, when humanity is most keenly conscious of its innate desire for liberty:

As years go by, liberty emerges from that will prominent in youths and agitated by the unrestrained affects of the mind that are most vehement at that age. If they remain unbridled, cupidity will rule them. Finally, at a more mature age when knowledge has been developed, reason, like a master, moderates the authority of the senses and the liberty of the affects.⁵⁸

Later in the *De uno*, ‘the liberty of the affects’ (‘affectuum libertas’) in adolescence is compared with the ‘republic of unencumbered affects’ (‘respublica affectuum liberorum’) that prevails under pure monarchies (‘regnum merum’) or tyrannies (‘tyrannis’) typical of Rome under Tarquinius Superbus and of Asia under the monarchy of Ninus.⁵⁹ Echoing the

antinomy between *affectus* and *ratio* in the second oration, the development of the rule of reason and law ('respublica rationis et legum'), which typifies the most advanced stage of civilizational development, is defined by the absence of the affects ('legem esse mentem affectibus vacuum') or the tempering of senses and the affects with reason ('ratio, quae sensuum tutelae et affectuum libertati tanquam domina moderatur'). Crucially, however, Vico qualifies that this schema is more ideal than practical. As it is impossible for human nature to overcome its fallen condition, only with divine grace, delivered through the sacrament of penitence, can the mind truly be purged of the affects.⁶⁰ Hence, the Stoic ideal of ἀπάθεια, which Vico translates into Latin as 'affectuum vacuitas' (the absence of affects), is condemned as a futile meditation on prelapsarian man ('homo integer').⁶¹

The affectivity of postlapsarian man has important ramifications for the political theory articulated in *Diritto universale*. Since the supernatural cannot be relied on to propel civilizational development, the injunctive force of reason is insufficient to ensure the authority of laws. While admitting the theoretical possibility of laws conceptualized with dispassionate reason, Vico argues that, in practice, the minds of the masses are bombarded with emotional disturbances ('haec eadem populi mens in specie perturbatissima esse solet'). Both the histories of Athens and Rome—the paradigms of rationality in Vico's survey of nations—attest to how easily the minds of the masses can be manipulated by political leaders through the affects ('affectibus inflammari solebat').

Far from being inherently destructive, Vico argues that the senses and affects were essential tools gifted to human nature by Divine Providence so that human beings in the prerational stages of human and civilizational development ('ius naturale prius') could have the means to preserve the existence of their own person and the human species.⁶² Yet, even with the emergence of rational law ('ius naturale posterius') in the third age, the affects maintain a limited role in bolstering the injunctive force of laws and order through the fear of punishment ('metus poenarum') and the hope of reward ('spes praemiorum'), respectively.⁶³ Not all the moral behaviours that emerged in this prerational stage of man could survive the transition to rationality, however. On the whole, the positive content of the *ius naturale prius* is reconcilable with the *ius naturale posterius* because in Vico's view, the former concept of law does not prescribe moral norms as such but rather proscribes those actions perceived as harmful to the senses and affects. Hence, the *ius naturale prius* was ἀδιάφορον—a law that does not in and of itself contradict philosophic reason or the essentials of the Christian faith. Nonetheless, the *ius naturale posterior* curtails the implicit permissions of the *ius naturale prius* by imposing models of virtue espoused in values such as *humanitas*, *liberalitas*, and *beneficentia*.⁶⁴

Conclusions: From *affectūs* to *passioni* in the *Scienza nuova* (1725, 1730, 1744)

As Vico affords a more fundamental role to the emotions in the three editions in the *Scienza nuova*, a significant lexical shift takes place. As noted earlier, in these late vernacular works, Vico's default word for the emotions is *passioni*. Whenever *affetti* is used, it is almost always in apposition with *passioni* ('mente scevra di affetti o di passioni') or for the sake of *variatio*.⁶⁵ In one sentence, for instance, Vico alternates between both terms in two distinct noun phrases to avoid repetition.⁶⁶ In only one instance of the 1725 edition of the *Scienza nuova* could it be argued that a semantic distinction is made between *passioni* and *affetti*, where it is suggested that the *passioni* are properly the emotions hindering the acquisition of truth, whereas *affetti* are rhetorical devices used to make simpletons act according to truth.⁶⁷ But this possible distinction vanishes in the 1730 and 1744 editions of the *Scienza nuova*, where *affetti* is only ever used in apposition with *passioni*.

On first appearances, it would seem that this lexical shift can be explained by Vico's privileging of the political ramifications of the emotions over a metaphysical or physiological account of their origin and operation. While the Providential valorization of the emotions developed in the *Scienza nuova* broadly aligns with theories already schematized in the *Diritto universale*, Vico sheds many of the metaphysical premises upon which he had grounded his theories of civilizational development in the *Diritto universale*.

But in 1732, two years after Vico had published the revised edition of the *Scienza nuova*, he delivered the Latin oration *De mente heroica* (*On the Heroic Mind*), which reiterated some of the historiographical ideas concretized in the 1730 *Scienza nuova*.⁶⁸ In exhorting youths to prepare themselves for university study with minds 'cleansed and purified of earthly affects' ('terrenis affectibus defoecati ac puri'), this oration hearkens back to the second oration. Its comparison of the impact that affects have on the mind with that of physical torture ('animus, natus ad virtutem, pravis affectibus et viciis excruciat'), evokes the *martiri* of Vico's early poem. But in the full spirit of the *Scienza nuova*, this oration acknowledges the essential role of the emotions, rendered as *affectūs* and never *passiones*, in the divine Providential plan where it compares the orator's bending of obstinate wills through the manipulation of bodily affects ('affectus, qui a corpore commoventur') with the 'divine ways' ('divinae viae') through which God draws earthly minds ('terrae defixae mentes') heavenwards. Hence, while Vico's shift to *passioni* in the *Scienza nuova* may be indicative of his desire to distance his emotional vocabulary from the metaphysically charged term *affectus*, these two terms were seen as rough semantic equivalents.

Notes

We would like to thank Andrew Benjamin and Anik Waldow for their valuable feedback on earlier drafts of this chapter.

- 1 All translations in this chapter are ours except where otherwise noted. The role of the passions in Vico's thought has been subject to many interesting studies: Andrea Battistini, 'Vico and the Passions,' in *Teorie delle passioni*, ed. Elena Pulcini (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), 113–128; Riccardo Caporali, 'Vico, "Tenderness," and "Barbarism",' in *Politics and the Passions, 1500–1850*, ed. Victoria Kahn et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 196–216; and Daniel Canaris, 'Shame in Ethical Discourse: Vichian Echoes in Bernard Williams,' *MLN* 132, no. 1 (2017), 76–98.
- 2 First published in the rare volume Giambattista Vico, *Affetti di un disperato. Canzone di Giovanni Battista de Vico Napoletano, Tra gli Accademici Uniti di Napoli il Raccolto* (Venezia: Gonzatti, 1693). For the story of the rediscovery of this volume and the restoration of the original text, see Benedetto Croce, 'Gli Affetti di un disperato,' *Quaderni della 'Critica'* 13 (1949), 97–104. The text has been republished in Giambattista Vico, 'Affetti di un disperato,' in *L'Autobiografia, il carteggio e le poesie varie*, ed. Fausto Nicolini (Bari: G. Laterza, 1929), 313–317. For an English translation, see Thomas G. Bergin, 'Affetti di un disperato,' *Forum Italicum* 2, no. 4 (1968), 305–309.
- 3 All references to the 1725, 1730, and 1744 editions of the *Scienza nuova* are to the original page numbers as cited in the recent critical edition, Giambattista Vico, *La scienza nuova: le tre edizioni del 1725, 1730 e 1744*, ed. Manuela Sanna and Vincenzo Vitiello (Milan: Bompiani, 2012). For English translations, see *The First New Science*, trans. Leon Pompa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, trans. Thomas G. Bergin and Max H. Fisch (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- 4 The Latin text of the *De antiquissima, Orationes inaugurales*, and the *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* is cited from Vico, *Opere filosofiche*, ed. Paolo Cristofolini (Florence: Sansoni, 1971). For English translations, see *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians: Unearthed from the Origins of the Latin Language*, trans. L. M. Palmer (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988); *On Humanistic Education: Six Inaugural Orationes, 1699–1707*, trans. Giorgio A. Pinton and Arthur W. Shippee (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); and *On the Study Methods of Our Time*, trans. Elio Gianturco (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1990). The Latin text of *Diritto universale* is cited from Giambattista Vico, *Opere giuridiche*, ed. Paolo Cristofolini (Florence: Sansoni, 1974). For an English translation, see *Diritto universale: A Translation from Latin into English of Giambattista Vico's Il diritto universale*, trans. John D. Schaeffer, 2 vols (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2011).
- 5 Vico, *Opere filosofiche*, 739.
- 6 Ibid., 809.
- 7 Ibid., 109: 'Ut tutior cautio sit ad vera meditanda exuere affectus rerum pene dixerim, quam praeiudicia: praeiudicia enim nunquam deleas, manente affectu; at, affectu restincto, detrahitur rebus persona, quam iis nos imposuimus, et ultro res ipsae manent.'
- 8 Ibid., 811: 'Sed haec ratio studiorum adolescentibus illa parit incommoda, ut porro nec satis vitam civilem prudenter agant, nec orationem moribus tingere et affectibus inflammare satis sciant.'

- 9 Ibid., 109: 'Certe fomites omnium animi perturbationum seu affectuum sunt concupiscibilis et irascibilis appetitus.'
- 10 Vico, *La scienza nuova*, 1744, 91, 141.
- 11 Paolo M. Doria, *La vita civile con un trattato della educazione del principe*, 3rd ed. (Naples: Angelo Vocola a Fontana Medina, 1729).
- 12 For the Accademia degli Investiganti, see Max H. Fisch, 'The Academy of the Investigators,' in *Science, Medicine and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice*, ed. E. Ashworth Underwood (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 521–563. See also Raffaele Carbone, 'The Critical Reception of Cartesian Physiology in Tommaso Cornelio's *Progymnasmata Physica*,' in *Descartes' Treatise on Man and its Reception*, ed. Delphine Antoine-Mahut and Stephen Gaukroger (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 91–101.
- 13 René Descartes, *Passiones animae* (Amsterdam: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1650). For the influence of Descartes' treatise on the passions in early modern Naples, see Salvatore Serrapica, 'Note napoletane alle "Passioni dell'anima",' *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 16 (1996), 476–494; Ettore Lojacono, *Immagini di René Descartes nella cultura napoletana dal 1644 al 1755* (Lecce: Conte, 2003); Silvia Contarini, 'Descartes in Naples: The Reception of *Passions de l'âme*,' in *Reason and Its Others: Italy, Spain, and the New World*, ed. David Castillo and Massimo Lollini (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006), 39–60.
- 14 Descartes, *Passiones animae*, 1.
- 15 Ibid., 5, 27.
- 16 Ibid., 105.
- 17 Susan James, *Passion and Action: the Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 10–11. See also Michael Champion et al., 'But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,' *Rivista storica italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016), 521–542.
- 18 Luciano Osbat, *L'inquisizione a Napoli: il processo agli ateisti, 1688–1697* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1974).
- 19 Vico, *Opere filosofiche*, 16.
- 20 Fausto Nicolini, *La giovinezza di Giambattista Vico (1668–1700): saggio biografico*, 2nd ed. (Bari: G. Laterza & figli, 1932), 60.
- 21 Croce, 'Gli Affetti,' 100. The poem was published in 1693 in a rare volume that went missing until the early twentieth century. Until then, it was only known in a corrupted edition published by Villarosa, who had toned down the despair of the poem's persona and removed every reference to 'fate,' 'destiny,' and the 'stars.' Croce's article relates the story behind his recovery of the original version of the poem.
- 22 Vico, 'Affetti di un disperato,' 313.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid., 315.
- 25 Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clarke (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1998).
- 26 Lionardo Di Capoa, *Parere [...] Divisato in otto Ragionamenti, ne' quali partitamente narrandosi l'origine, e'l progresso della medicina, chiaramente l'incertezza della medesima si fa manifesta* (Naples: Per Antonio Bulifon, 1681), 490–491.
- 27 Ibid., 485.
- 28 Vico, 'Affetti di un disperato,' 313.

- 29 See Zakiya Hanafi, *The Monster in the Machine: Magic, Medicine, and the Marvelous in the Time of the Scientific Revolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 154.
- 30 Vico, 'Affetti di un disperato,' 313.
- 31 Ibid., 316.
- 32 Vico, *Opere filosofiche*, 15–16.
- 33 René Descartes, *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. John Cottingham et al., 3 vols., Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 327.
- 34 Vico, 'Affetti di un disperato,' 314.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid., 315.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Donald Phillip Verene simplifies the title to 'On Virtue and Wisdom' in Vico, *On Humanistic Education*, 54.
- 40 See Verene, 'Introduction,' in Vico, *On Humanistic Education*, 1–28.
- 41 Vico, *On Humanistic Education*, 61–62; *Opere filosofiche*, 725: 'Stultorum arma sunt effraenes animi affectus; vis qua superatur, conscientia; urbs qua spoliantur, mundus; fortunae quibus exuuntur, humana felicitas; carcer ubi trudentur, corpus, domina cuius imperio subiiciuntur, Fortuna. Haec igitur singula, dum aliquanto amplius persequar, quaeso vos, auditores, benigne, nempe vestro de more audiat.'
 - 42 *Opere filosofiche*, 721.
 - 43 Ibid.
 - 44 Ibid., 725. For Philo's metaphor, see William R. G. Loader, *Philo, Josephus, and the Testaments on Sexuality: Attitudes Towards Sexuality in the Writings of Philo and Josephus and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2011), 98. Philo's imagery was originally derived from Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246a–254e.
 - 45 Descartes, *Passiones animae*, 78.
 - 46 Peter King, 'Late Scholastic Theories of the Passions: Controversies in the Thomist Tradition,' in *Emotions and Choice from Boethius to Descartes*, ed. Henrik Lagerlund and Mikko Yrjönsuuri (New York: Springer, 2002), 238–244. Vico discusses his studies of Suarez in his *Vita: Opere filosofiche*, 7. For the relationship between Vico and Suarez, see Elio Gianturco, 'Suarez and Vico: A Note on the Origin of the Vichian Formula,' *The Harvard Theological Review* 27, no. 3 (1934), 207–210.
 - 47 Vico, *Opere filosofiche*, 109.
 - 48 Luca Tozzi, *De recto usu sex rerum nonnaturalium, cunctis Rei Medicae Professoribus perutile simul, & necessarium tomus quintus*. (Venice: Apud Nicolaum Pezzana, 1728), 221. For Tozzi, see Eugenio Garin, 'Luca Tozzi, o la filosofia dei medici,' *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 27 (1972), 75–78; and David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 66–67.
 - 49 Vico, *Opere filosofiche*, 725.
 - 50 Ibid., 725–727.
 - 51 Ibid., 727.
 - 52 Ibid.
 - 53 Ibid.
 - 54 Ibid.
 - 55 Ibid.
 - 56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., 21–22.

58 *Opere giuridiche*, 91: ‘Adcrescente aetate, ex voluntate existit libertas, quae eminet in adolescentia et solutis animi affectibus agitur, qui in ea aetate omnes sunt maxime vehementes; at, si effrenentur, creant regnum cupiditatis. Tandem, per aetatem explicata cognitione, confirmatur in homine ratio, quae sensuum tutelae et affectuum libertati tanquam domina moderatur.’

59 Ibid., 177.

60 Ibid., 363–365.

61 Ibid., 375.

62 Ibid., 91–97.

63 Ibid., 201–203.

64 Ibid., 97.

65 *Opere filosofiche*, 256.

66 Ibid., 232.

67 Ibid., 278–279.

68 Giambattista Vico, *De mente heroica*, ed. Emma Nanetti (Pisa: ETS, 2014).

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18 Unprincipled by Principle

On Hume's Use of 'Affection'

Margaret Watkins

I see death approach gradually, without any anxiety or regret. I salute you, with great affection and regard, for the last time.

(Hume to the Comtesse de Boufflers, August 1776, in Letters 2: 335)¹

These sentences conclude a letter written five days before Hume's death, to an intimate friend of many decades. The letter begins with generous condolence with Boufflers on the death of the Prince de Conti, who had been her lover for many years. Hume's language is empathetically warm: he is 'struck with' the news of 'this melancholy incident' and begs for particulars.

In these last lines, Hume's tone shifts to magnanimity. Speaking of his own death, he assures Boufflers of his tranquility and acceptance. Speaking of his feelings for her, he assures her of his fondness and respect. Hume's reference to 'great affection' is no throwaway flattery; it is consistent with his copious use of this sense of 'affection' in much of his writing. The *History of England* is full of monarchs striving to gain the affections of their subjects, and Hume's letters to his nephew, 'Dear Davy,' often close with 'Your affectionate Uncle.'²

This copious usage goes along with numerous meanings. We might expect that in works aimed at scholarly audiences, Hume would have carefully delineated his terms, reserving 'affection' for a particular kind of emotion, or at least distinguishing senses and alerting us to which he intends on which occasions. But no such care is to be found. Instead, uses of 'affection' that appear to mean 'fondness' or 'liking' float alongside uses that appear synonymous with 'passion' or 'emotion.' His nonchalance about terminology is particularly striking in light of the important distinction made between affections and passions by some of his contemporaries, including Francis Hutcheson, inarguably a significant influence on Hume's moral psychology.

In the following, I compare Hume's messy use of 'affection' with principled distinctions he could have made, had he wished to follow his contemporaries in this respect. His refusal to do so, I argue, reflects something significant about his approach to psychology. Though willing

to undertake a taxonomy of the passions, he is wary of what may be found along a way pursued too strictly. As Peter King says, 'The ideal of a strict taxonomy is a Procrustean bed for a scientist who is sensitive to the nuances of the phenomena.'³

Hume's most famous statement on the passions is his cavalier remark that reason 'is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions' (T 2.3.3.4). This is Hume the *provocateur*, deliberately inverting reason's long-standing precedence over the passions. But he was far from original in insisting on the importance of emotions. It was *passions* in particular that had a bad reputation, and numerous strategies were available for redeeming emotions by delineating a subset of them as passions proper. More respectable emotions, or the broader category that included respectable emotions, were sometimes called 'affections.'

To see what saved affections from being passions, we must consider what was supposed to be bad about passions in the first place. Michael Champion et al. note that *affectus* is itself 'primarily passive,' indicating 'some mental, volitional, or psychic movement caused by external action.'⁴ 'Passion' highlights this passivity, suggesting that a person under its sway is a tool of external forces beyond the control of his or her real self. But Hume's argument that reason alone is inert, and that passions are necessary to motivate human action, repudiates this implication of the term. Passions are no longer just motions inflicted on the human soul by outside forces; they are moving forces in their own right. For Hume, the passions are ineluctable elements of the self. Indeed, some commentators have argued that he believes that it is only through the passions that we develop a sense of self at all.⁵ It is therefore no surprise that we find in Hume no Spinozistic set of active affects distinguished from passions by proceeding from the true self.⁶

The bad reputation of the passions, however, did not stem only from their alleged alien nature. Passions were associated with bad judgement, unpleasant perturbations in body or mind, and impetuous action. When Hume's near predecessors and contemporaries chose to speak of good affections as opposed to bad passions, they often had these overlapping characteristics in mind. I will take each of these features ascribed to the passions and consider whether or not we find in Hume a tendency to ascribe them to 'passions' as opposed to 'affections.' This procedure is falsifying, as these criticisms of the passions were related to one another in complex ways. But it will allow us to see just how far Hume goes in blurring the distinction.

Associating passions with bad judgement does not require assuming that good judgement is the province of Humean reason—the faculty that judges relations of ideas and matters of fact. Moral sense theorists usually ascribed an essential role to the emotions in discerning moral categories. Lord Shaftesbury insists both that affections are necessary for virtuous actions and that affections constitute our recognition of

those actions' moral qualities. People who act 'well' because of physical compulsion—or the promise of punishment or reward—cannot be judged virtuous: it is 'by Affection merely that a Creature is esteem'd good or ill.'⁷ Moreover, we judge those affections when 'there arises another kind of Affection towards those very Affections themselves.'⁸ These second-order affections signal the moral quality of the character being judged and evaluate it through approval or disapproval. Amy M. Schmitter notes that although Shaftesbury sometimes uses 'passion' in a general way, 'his preferred term by far is "affection."⁹ Although Shaftesburian 'affections' can be 'ill and *unnatural*,'¹⁰ 'passions' rarely receive the opposing praise of being 'natural.'

Is there any corresponding asymmetry in Hume, so that he denominates the emotions of moral judgement as 'affections,' but others 'passions'? Hume also believes that moral judgement requires emotional responses to character traits. In place of a moral sense finding qualities embedded in the world, he posits intersubjective consensus about virtue that arises from considering a person's character from multiple points of view and conversing with others to arrive at a shared moral language. Like Shaftesbury, Hume compares these moral emotions with our responses to aesthetic beauty, and he appears to distinguish these responses from passions. He classifies passions as reflective impressions—impressions because they are feelings, reflective because they arise from other feelings (pleasures or pains) or sensations, or ideas about them. He then distinguishes between calm and violent reflective impressions¹¹:

Of the first kind is the sense of beauty and deformity in action, composition, and external objects. Of the second are the passions of love and hatred, grief and joy, pride and humility. This division is far from being exact. The raptures of poetry and music frequently rise to the greatest height; while those other impressions, properly call'd *passions*, may decay into so soft an emotion, as to become, in a manner, imperceptible.

(T 2.1.1.3)

I return later to the distinction between calm and violent passions. But here Hume suggests that the usually violent emotions—such as love, hatred, grief, joy, pride, and humility—are passions, whereas the emotions of moral and aesthetic beauty are something else. Are they affections?

In a general sense, yes, but not uniquely so. The term Hume uses to signify moral and aesthetic emotions that have the quality of judgements is 'sentiments.' 'Morals and criticism,' he writes in the *Treatise*, 'regard our tastes and sentiments' (T Intro.5). The later *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* is full of references to 'moral sentiments,' including an appendix entitled 'Concerning Moral Sentiment,' in which Hume again presses the case that reason cannot be the foundation for moral

distinctions. Here, Hume makes wide allowances for the importance of reason for moral judgement, while still maintaining that ‘morality is determined by sentiment’ (EPM App1.10). Peter Jones notes that Hume’s use of ‘sentiment’ ‘treacherously covers both feeling and thought.’¹²

Hume often uses ‘affection’ to refer to approving moral sentiments—a particular instance of its meaning favourable feeling or liking. For instance, in the second *Enquiry*, he argues that although education can manipulate ‘the sentiments of approbation or dislike,’ it cannot be that ‘*all* moral affection or dislike arises from this origin’ (EPM 5.3). But Hume uses a wide range of terms to refer to positive moral and aesthetic sentiments—affection, approbation, esteem, complacency—even love. He also uses ‘affection’ to mean liking or fondness without any connotation of moral or aesthetic judgement, as in his many references to the affection for children—a passion that he believes to be natural and instinctual.¹³

There are no grounds, therefore, for ascribing to Hume the view that affections, as opposed to passions, are emotions that tend to carry judgements. We have seen, however, that he does acknowledge a strict sense of ‘passion’ that refers to violent, as opposed to calm, emotions. Does he therefore use ‘affection’ to refer to this subset of calm emotions?

If he did, he would have near precedent. Hutcheson, particularly in his later work, distinguishes calm affections from violent passions. In *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections*, he initially defines affections and passions together. But he then delineates a special sense of ‘passion’ as ‘a *confused Sensation* either of Pleasure or Pain, occasioned or attended by some violent bodily Motions.’¹⁴ As we have seen, Hume also says that violent emotions are properly called passions. But he treats the distinction loosely: it is a ‘vulgar and specious division’ that has been commonly made, which he will use so that he may ‘proceed with the greater order’ (T 2.1.1.3). Moreover, he does not call either the genus or the two opposing species ‘affections.’ The genus term is ‘reflective impressions,’ and he refers first to ‘the sense of beauty and deformity’ and then ‘the emotions arising from beauty and deformity.’¹⁵ Again, the term that he tends to use for moral or aesthetic emotions is ‘sentiments,’ not ‘affections.’ He calls violent emotions ‘affections’ often: most of *Treatise* 2 concerns emotions that he characterizes as typically violent, and he repeatedly refers to them as affections. In a telling modification between texts, a passage that refers to ‘the sollicitations of passion and desire’ in the *Treatise* (T 2.3.3.10) changes to ‘the solicitation of violent affection and desire’ in the *Dissertation on the Passions* (DP 5.4).

Finally, Hume does not reserve the term ‘passions’ for violent reflective impressions. He repeatedly refers to ‘calm passions,’ including in the section of the *Treatise* in which he claims that reason is slave to the passions. People think that reason can motivate because they confuse every calm ‘action of the mind’ with reason. ‘Now ’tis certain,’ he writes, that

‘there are certain calm desires and tendencies, which, tho’ *they be real passions*, produce little emotion in the mind’ (T 2.3.3.8, emphasis mine). Later, he reinforces the commonality between calm and violent emotions by saying that ‘a calm passion may easily be chang’d into a violent one’ (T 2.3.8.13). His references to ‘calm passions’ continue in the later *Dissertation on the Passions* (DP 5.2, 4) and *Enquiry* (EPM 6.15).

Hume may have chosen not to follow Hutcheson in distinguishing between calm affections and violent passions, because Hume did not find the calmness of an emotion to be necessarily good, or the perturbation of passion necessarily bad. Though he often speaks positively of tranquility, there is little evidence that he believes violent passions to be inherently unpleasant. In the essay ‘The Sceptic,’ a character very like Hume does argue that a ‘happy’ passion must be neither ‘too violent nor too remiss. In the first case, the mind is in a perpetual hurry and tumult; in the second, it sinks into a disagreeable indolence and lethargy’ (E 167). But Hume warns of the danger of indolence and lethargy much more often than the dangers of hurry and tumult. In the *Treatise*, he claims that difficulty in performing an action ‘excites the spirits’ and ‘is in itself very agreeable, like every thing, which enlivens the mind to a moderate degree’ (T 2.3.5.2).¹⁶ Though this excitement increases painful as well as pleasant passions, and the qualification of ‘a moderate degree’ is significant, the excitement itself is pleasant. Later, he suggests that we enjoy histories of momentous events and great kingdoms because they occupy our minds with ‘strong passions,’ and ‘this occupation or agitation of the mind is commonly agreeable and amusing’ (T 3.3.4.14). And even when he compares the calm, sedate passion of friendship (which he finds of the utmost importance) with the ‘feverish fits of heat and cold’ of erotic love, he refers to the latter as ‘an agreeable torment’ (E 189). Hume seems to think languor a more common danger than overheated perturbation of mind. In another letter to the Comtesse de Boufflers, he credits her with saving him ‘from a total indifference towards every thing in human life,’ a state that ‘is perhaps worse than even the inquietudes of the most unfortunate passion’ (July 1764, in Letters 1: 457).

In ‘Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion,’ Hume does describe as miserable the life of someone driven by ‘delicacy of passion.’ This person, extremely sensitive to the accidents of life and the treatment of his fellows, is a victim of the preponderance of occasions for sorrow over occasions for joy. Even though he has ‘more lively enjoyments ... than men of cool and sedate tempers,’ his correspondingly deeper sorrows undermine this benefit. But Hume’s reasoning implies that, if one could be assured of fortunate circumstances, delicacy of passion would be a fortunate disposition. And he recommends as its cure not the diminishment of emotions in general, but the cultivation of delicacy of taste—a sensitivity to moral and aesthetic sentiments, that likewise ‘enlarges the sphere both of our happiness and misery, and makes us sensible to pains as well as

pleasures, which escape the rest of mankind' (E 5). These pleasures and pains are less subject to influences beyond our control, and less likely to lead us 'beyond all bounds of prudence and discretion ... to take false steps in the conduct of life, which are often irretrievable' (E 4). It is not the violence of delicate passions in itself that leads Hume to denounce delicacy of passion: it is their evanescent nature and ill effects.

The point recalls the last complaint made about the passions—their tendency to lead to impetuous action and imprudence. Hume acknowledges this danger, and that violent passions can make us subject to manipulation. If 'we wou'd govern a man, and push him to any action, 'twill commonly be better policy to work upon the violent than the calm passions' (T 2.3.4.1). Nonetheless, he does not identify a passion's motivating force with its violence. Calm passions can be strong enough to conquer violent emotions, particularly when those calm passions have become settled dispositions through habit. But again, the strength of calm passions is not necessarily good. In a letter to Hutcheson, Hume writes, 'There is a calm Ambition, a calm Anger or Hatred, which tho' calm, may likewise be very strong, & have the absolute Command over the Mind' (Letters 1: 46, January 1743).

Passions cannot cause imprudent behaviour without motivating action, and Hume acknowledges that some passions do not. Commentators sometimes claim that he believes that those passions he classifies as indirect do not motivate.¹⁷ The direct passions are caused by pleasure or pain; the indirect passions require a 'double relation of impressions and ideas' that associates the objects of the passions (self or other) with the causes (pleasures or pains related to self or other). The primary indirect passions are pride, humility, love, and hatred. Pride and humility, he claims, 'are pure emotions in the soul, unattended with any desire, and not immediately exciting us to action' (T 2.2.6.3). Love and hatred 'are always follow'd by, or rather conjoin'd with benevolence and anger,' which are desires, but these desires are not part of love and hatred themselves. It thus seems that Hume believes that the indirect passions do not themselves motivate action, although love and hatred are part of a causal chain that eventuates in action through desire. Elizabeth Radcliffe, however, notes that Hume does not say that other indirect passions do not motivate, and that he includes desires in his characterizations of the indirect passions of malice and pity.¹⁸ Recall, however, that Hume lists pride, humility, love, and hatred among the typically violent passions. Therefore, the set of passions that Hume explicitly disconnects from motivation are not usually calm. We cannot conclude, however, that these passions are innocent of the imprudence occasioned by their other violent siblings. The connection between love, hatred, and their associated desires is reliable, though not conceptual. Pride and humility also affect desire and action indirectly.¹⁹ And once again, we find no correlation

between the distinction between indirect and direct emotions and that between affections and passions. Hume refers to both kinds of emotions using both terms.²⁰

At this point, one might suspect that Hume's terminology of the emotions is simply one aspect of the 'philosophy in this careless manner' that he humble-brags about at the end of *Treatise* 1 (T 1.4.7.14). How else do we explain paragraphs like T 2.2.12.3, in which 'affections' seems synonymous with passions in one sentence, but then refers to a kind of love in the next? (In the first, animals must regulate their 'affections' according to sensible good *or* evil, indicating that these affections might be negative. In the next, we acquire the 'affections' of these animals by 'feeding and cherishing' them.) In other places, he pairs 'affection' with 'emotions,' 'passions,' or 'sentiments,' but it is not clear whether he is meaning to name two distinct things, repeating synonymous terms for rhetorical force, or using two different terms to acknowledge that others might have different names for the same thing.²¹

I suspect Hume's carelessness is deliberate, and that there are two principled reasons why he avoids many principled distinctions in discussing emotions: he wants a genuinely experimental treatment of the passions that resists contraction of the phenomena, and he is resisting the long-standing practice of vilifying the passions. Space precludes a full argument for these suggestions, but I can begin to make the case.

It is fair to place Hume in the tradition of thinkers who gave taxonomies of the passions, but 'taxonomy,' like 'affection,' is said in many ways. James Fieser rightly notes the continuity between the first four of Hume's direct passions (joy, grief, fear, and hope)²² and the traditional set of Stoic primitive passions (joy, grief, fear, and desire).²³ But Fieser then claims that Hume 'is also following tradition by grounding all passions in a class of primitives.'²⁴ As Schmitter notes, the claim that Hume 'posits a "class of primitives" from which other passions are constructed ... is a minority view.'²⁵ When Fieser offers details about how Hume grounds other passions in the primitives, he notes that some passions 'arise from' the interplay between the primitives and sympathy, some 'imitate' the primitives, some are 'a balance' between various primitives, some are explained in the same way but have more limited objects than the primitives, some are versions of the primitives 'of a different shape,' some are mixtures of the primitives, and others are 'species and degrees' of the primitives.²⁶ We could collapse some of these relations into others, but their number and variety should put us on our guard. If this were a plan for building a system of passions from a few basic materials, it would be a messy one.

One advantage of such a system is that it offers a scientific or philosophical account of the passions by explaining multiform phenomena as arising from a few general laws or principles. Hume respects such

projects: the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* explains the virtues as qualities that fit into at least one of four categories. But this is not the kind of project that underlies his theory of the passions.

Passions can be primitive in a theory in at least three different ways. They might be construed as elements, so that other passions are mixtures of the primitive passions. King calls this kind of theory a 'chemical' model and attributes it to Descartes.²⁷ Second, the primitive passions could be causes of other passions, as love causes benevolence in Hume's theory. Lastly, non-primitive passions could be variations of the primitive passions. Spinoza's view would be a reductive form of this kind of theory, given his claim that there are only three affects, each of the others 'being called by a different name on account of its varying relations and extrinsic denominations.'²⁸ Hume employs all of these strategies, which is to say that no one of them can be the foundation of a scientific theory of the passions for him. He gives a causal theory of the passions, but its foundations are more general principles of human nature, such as sympathy and the associative relations of the mind.²⁹

Hume resists analysing particular passions. He opens the section on pride and humility by claiming that 'tis impossible we can ever, by a multitude of words, give a just definition of [pride and humility], or indeed of any of the passions.' We can describe them by detailing their accompanying circumstances, but since the passions and their names are common, everyone can 'form a just idea of them' (T 2.1.2.1). Hume resolutely avoids flattening emotional experience. But one way in which such flattening occurs is through strong distinctions between various kinds of emotions. If we insist, for example, that aesthetic sentiments are calm and love is violent, then we lose our grip on the strange emotion that causes someone to weep from the beauty of a sculpture, or the gentle love that provides a warming resonance to time spent with those with whom we share everyday life. Hume would have wanted to avoid any similar contraction resulting from a strong distinction between affection and passion.

Finally, Hume would have little patience with distinctions that vilify the passions as the black sheep in the family of emotions. He recognizes that passions can be dangerous, and that entrenched dispositions to feel certain of them can make people miserable. But these effects, for Hume, are contingent and might be overridden by unpredictable circumstances. The mature Hume rarely throws bricks in the face of his readers with proclamations like 'reason is the slave of the passions.' But he retains the idea that 'life, without passion, must be altogether insipid and tiresome' (EPM 9.21). He therefore eschews the tradition of cleaving a wedge between angelic and demonic emotions, preferring to speak generally about what serves humanity and particularly about the surprisingly positive effects that can come from 'demon' passions, like pride. He remarks at the start of *Treatise 2* that bodily pains and pleasures 'arise originally

in the soul, or in the body, which-ever you please to call it' (T 2.1.1.2). One can imagine his dismissing the distinction between affection and passion in much the same way: reflective impressions are affections or passions, whichever we please to call them. He is willing, at the end of the day, to let go of such distinctions, without anxiety or regret.

Notes

- 1 References to Hume's writings are cited in parentheses and refer to the following editions, using the abbreviations indicated: (DNR, part and paragraph numbers) *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion and Other Writings*, ed. Dorothy Coleman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); (DP, section and paragraph numbers) *A Dissertation on the Passions, The Natural History of Religion*, ed. Tom L. Beauchamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007); (EPM, section and paragraph numbers) *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, ed. Tom L. Beauchamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); (E, page number) *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1985); (Letter, volume and page numbers) *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and (T, book, part, section, and paragraph numbers) *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. David F. Norton and Mary J. Norton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).
- 2 See Letters 2: 297, 307, 334.
- 3 Peter King, 'Aquinas on the Passions,' in *Aquinas's Moral Theory: Essays in Honor of Norman Kretzmann*, ed. Scott MacDonald and Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 112.
- 4 Michael Champion et al., 'But were they talking about emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio*, and the History of Emotions,' *Rivista Storica Italiana* 128 (2016): 524.
- 5 For a summary of recent literature on the passions as a solution to Hume's problem of the self, see Elizabeth S. Radcliffe, 'Hume's Psychology of the Passions: The Literature and Future Directions,' *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 53, no. 4 (2015): 593–597.
- 6 See Benedict de Spinoza's definition of 'affect' at *Ethics* 3.D3, in *A Spinoza Reader*, trans. and ed. Edwin Curley (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 154.
- 7 Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, Vol. 2 (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2001), 12.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 9 Amy M. Schmitter, 'Passions, Affections, Sentiments: Taxonomy and Terminology,' in *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. James A. Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 202.
- 10 Shaftesbury, *Characteristiks*, 12.
- 11 For an illuminating study of the history of the distinction between calm and violent passions in the literary and rhetorical traditions, see Kirk Essary and Yasmin Haskell, 'Calm and Violent Passions: The Genealogy of a Distinction from Quintilian to Hume,' *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 3:1 (2018): 55–81.
- 12 Peter Jones, 'Hume, Arts, and "The Standard of Taste": Texts and Contexts,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Hume*, ed. David F. Norton and Jacqueline Taylor, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 430.
- 13 See T 2.3.3.8 and DP 3.3n.

- 14 Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature of the Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense*, ed. Aaron Garrett (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002), 31.
- 15 The last sentence of the paragraph refers to the violent passions as emotions as well.
- 16 See DP 6.12. See also T 2.2.4.4, where Hume claims that we seek company because other people are the ‘liveliest of all objects’ and, through sympathy, share with us their ‘inmost sentiments and affections.’ He goes on to say: ‘Every lively idea is agreeable, but especially that of a passion, because such an idea becomes a kind of passion, and gives a more sensible agitation to the mind, than any other image or conception.’
- 17 See, for example, Schmitter, ‘Passions, Affections, Sentiments,’ 219.
- 18 Elizabeth S. Radcliffe, ‘Hume’s Psychology of the Passions,’ 581.
- 19 On this point, see Jacqueline A. Taylor, *Reflecting Subjects: Passion, Sympathy, and Society in Hume’s Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 65–69.
- 20 See in particular T 2.3.9.4 and 2.3.9.9, where he uses the term ‘direct affections.’
- 21 See, for example, T 2.2.2.6 for ‘affection or emotion,’ DP 5.1 for ‘passion or affection,’ and DNR 11.1 for ‘affections or sentiments.’
- 22 See T 2.3.9.5–6 and DP 1.4–5.
- 23 James Fieser, ‘Hume’s Classification of the Passions and Its Precursors,’ *Hume Studies* 18, no. 1 (1992): 7.
- 24 Ibid., 8.
- 25 Schmitter, ‘Passions, Affections, Sentiments,’ 214n.
- 26 Fieser, ‘Hume’s Classification of the Passions’: 15–16n.
- 27 King, ‘Aquinas on the Passions,’ 112.
- 28 Spinoza, *Ethics* 3, ‘General Definitions of the Affects,’ 196.
- 29 For an argument that Hume’s theory of the passions is a genuinely experimental theory that aims to provide a causal explanation for the passions, see Taylor, *Reflecting Subjects*, 1–31.

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19 From *affectus* to Affect Theory and Back Again

Michael W. Champion

In their collection *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages*, Andrew Cole and Vance D. Smith highlighted the ‘medieval turn’ in contemporary critical theory.¹ How to read this turn remains controversial. On some accounts, the modern is founded on a rejection of the medieval. Yet, while the rhetorical rejection of the medieval might be viewed as a constitutive element of critical theory’s self-construction, as also in the case of other projects of modernity—secularization, capitalism, liberal democracy—medieval thought-forms may remain embedded in its systems of argument. The medieval lives on within critical theory, helping to shape it and give it coherence in ways that are not adequately captured by mere negation. In the same collection, Charles Blanton suggests that ‘[m]odernity is nothing more than the necessary accident of unfinished medieval business,’ and notes that much critical theory is concerned ‘with what the medieval renders possible.’² Affect theory is a case in point. As this volume shows, *affectus* was central to a range of medieval and early modern practices, social formations, and complex moral psychologies, but medieval and early modern thinkers did not exhaust the potentiality of the concept, providing rich sources for later thinkers.

This chapter is divided into three parts. First, in ‘Contemporary Theories of Affect’, I outline aspects of modern affect theories to explore connections with the earlier tradition.³ This outline suggests deficiencies in the modern theories, related to tendencies towards reductionism. Second, ‘Medieval and Early Modern Affects’ then identifies some patterns in the uses of *affectus* explored by other contributors and suggests ways in which medieval and early modern accounts might enrich contemporary understandings of affect. Third, ‘Notes Towards a Theory of *Affectus*’ concludes the chapter by pointing towards a theory of medieval and early modern affect, especially in conversation with Holly Crocker’s recent call to renewed attention to medieval affects, and the theorization of emotional practice by Monique Scheer. The chapter thus aims to draw out connections between the case studies and identify ways in which they can help to construct a theory of medieval and early modern affect sensitive to history, cultural specificity, and linguistic difference.

Contemporary Theories of Affect

Probing the connections between premodernity and the contemporary world through affect theory may appear initially promising and ultimately futile. As the contributors to this volume have shown, *affectus* and its cognates have a long premodern history, playing a key role in theories of rhetoric and language, sensation and feeling, bodies and souls, devotion, the virtues, the relation between humans, angels, and God, the formation of Christian polity, empirical psychology, and personal and communal embodiment. These theories in turn provide an insight into the ways affects and emotions could be practised and performed in different premodern cultures. Shared terminology, and shared interests in bodies, practices, politics, and the relationship between language and experience, should connect the premodern to contemporary speculation. Yet much contemporary affect theory sublimates medieval thought in a fetishization of the modern. While key theorists of affect regularly draw attention to a supposed conceptual connection between the modern term and the Latin *affectus*, their genealogies never reach back into the medieval world, preferring instead to begin with Spinoza, albeit a Spinoza read through the theoretical frame offered by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.⁴ Modern affect theory in this mode, then, seems to fit the narrative of critical theory as a *damnatio memoriae* of the past, a paradigmatic case of modernity constructed on the erasure of the medieval.

The results of such a genealogy can seem baffling. Brian Massumi's claim that 'L'affect (Spinoza's *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected' is widely and approvingly quoted. Yet, it may be better to conceptualize 'the capacity to affect and be affected' as the definition of Deleuzian *puissance*, understood as the potential for entities to come together to form assemblages. In this sense, *puissance* draws attention to the potential for things to interact and form new states and things, consistent with Deleuze's emphasis on processes and potentialities.⁵ Yet affect in the hands of modern theorists aims for a wider reach. A widely read overview of modern affect theory defines affect not as the capacity to act and be acted upon (although it will claim that too) but as arising within these capacities.⁶ In a shower of Deleuzian terms, affect emerges 'in the midst of *inbetween-ness*,' it is a 'relation' as well as a 'force,' an 'intensity,' a 'resonance,' a 'sediment.' These intensities and resonances are 'sticky' and are found attached to 'bodies' and (multiple) 'worlds' but are also to be experienced 'in the very passages or variations between' themselves. These in-between zones are themselves coded as material. We are told that affect extends into the 'intracellular divulgements of sinew' and the 'vaporous evanescences of the incorporeal,' and there is a long history of using physical metaphors and explanations to understand apparently immaterial phenomena like instincts, psychological attunement, information transfer, or hypnosis.⁷ Affect is defined either

in terms of itself or its absence, as potentiality rather than activity, as activity rather than passivity, as both cause and effect, as bodily extension into the unbodily if not the strictly immaterial. It is a perpetual motion machine, a phlogiston, a modern prime matter, an ether, a field.⁸

It is tempting, then, to see modern affect theory, at least of this kind, as positive evidence for Cole's and Smith's claim that modern critical theory needs the medieval to lend it coherence; the diversity of theories of affect is legion. Distilling one essential form of affect theory is impossible, but there are persistent themes, tendencies, and gestures. One theme is embodiment. Affect defines bodies, which are not to be understood essentially but 'by a capacity for being affected, the affections of which they are "capable", by the excitations to which they react within the limitations of their capacity.'⁹ The materiality of the affects thus results from taking Spinoza's naturalism as a guiding framework.¹⁰ These affects are 'irreducibly bodily and autonomic,' setting embodied affect over against intentional cognition.¹¹ Affect conceptualized in this way is distinguished both from 'feeling' and from 'emotion,' in a taxonomy offered influentially, for example, by Eric Shouse.¹² For Shouse, affect is pre-personal, physical, preconscious, and unmediated by language, memory, intention, or ideology, though it may intensify each of these realms. Feeling arises from affect at the personal and discursive levels; it is how a person understands and conceptualizes the affects to which he or she is exposed. Without affect, there would be no feeling: we feel because of the bodily changes wrought by affect, not because we make intellectual assessments of a situation. We are sad because we cry, not sad because we learn that a child has died.¹³ Emotion, in this scheme, is the mediated social manifestation of affect, as feelings are consciously performed in cultural situations. (Affect may be transmitted directly, but not consciously.) While there may be a place for these sorts of taxonomies in particular disciplinary contexts, it is not clear that they adequately describe the traces of broadly affective phenomena we find in medieval and early modern sources, or that they leave open the possibility of adequately complex theories of mind, cognition, and embodiment.¹⁴

For example, in those theorists who broadly follow the James-Lange theory of emotion, affect as a bodily state is a constituting object of the rational mind.¹⁵ Feelings so understood are a mental representation of bodily affect. They are eliminated if there are no bodily phenomena associated with it; sadness reduces as one's tears dry up.¹⁶ This is a clear divergence from the dominant tradition of *affectus* contributors to this volume have traced. Across several thinkers and in a range of different philosophical and theological schemas, *affectus* could commonly be translated as 'will' or 'intention,' where desiring minds focused on some aspect of the external world. Affect understood in this sense has an irreducibly intellectual character, although it is not to be divorced from the physical. Yet in the strands of contemporary affect theory which

make minds the representation of bodily states, such a conceptualization of *affectus* is impossible. On this point, the premodern seems to have the better argument. Medieval and early modern affect has an external object, so is irreducible to bodily sensations, their recognition, or their communication. It is neither ‘feeling,’ ‘emotion,’ nor the pre-discursive physical potentiality of ‘affect,’ as the terms are defined by Shouse. Reading Deleuze may well cause one to break out into a sweat of exhilaration or annoyance, depending on one’s inclination, but one is stimulated by his prose. This stimulation is not proportional to the sweatiness, but rather to the number of pages one devours or struggles through. The phenomenology of emotion should include reference to the state of the external world, not merely to a bodily state. One of the important contributions of our study of *affectus* is to identify ways in which the term could point both to the awareness (sometimes only inchoately discursive) of bodily disturbances, and to intentions or desires about the world beyond the subject’s body, including desires or intentions of communities. It was thus a keyword that enabled premodern thinkers to formulate complex theories of mind—theories that could help contemporary affect theorists.

Other affect theorists may be content to reject the James-Lange account of ‘feeling’ or ‘emotion’ but insist that affect remains a phenomenon ‘independent of signification and meaning.’¹⁷ This has several theoretical pay-offs. First, it allows affect theory to blur distinctions between the human and the rest of the natural world. Affect understood as unmediated by culture or language is shared by all material entities, and systems of affect, then, must account for a range of human-animal-object relationships. This allows affect theory to speak to a developing body of theory in post- or trans-humanism and insists that affect is not limited to the human subject.¹⁸ On this reading, ‘emotional communities’ like those emphasized by Barbara Rosenwein allow hegemonic narratives of human exceptionalism to persist.¹⁹ In their emphasis on discourses, they pay insufficient attention to ways in which human emotional community is a function of ‘intensities’ transmitted and modulated by more fundamental and universal material states and events. Accounts of affect that make individual human subjects masters of their own affectivity are rejected in favour of a more permeable account of subjectivity. While much premodern use of *affectus* is thoroughly centred on the human, we have seen that the idea that affect is not merely human is not a contemporary idea (recall, for example, Abelard’s discussion of the both instinctual and dispositional *affectus* of animals), and nor is the claim that humans cannot control either their affects or their subjectivity, a theme found in Augustine and all thinkers influenced by him.

There is one further implication of treating affect as precultural and prelinguistic. One motivation for modern affect theorists seems to be dissatisfaction with the humanities after the linguistic turn. For these

thinkers, the linguistic turn loses too much by reducing human experience to discourse or by overemphasizing its importance. Affect theory responds by seeking to reinsert the non-discursive into the picture (always unsteadily in discursive terms, and always with the sort of ambitious layering of metaphors with which we began, since affect cannot be reduced to language). One might reasonably think that the phenomenon of people eating a Big Mac or voting for Donald Trump cannot be rationally explained, or at least that it is not explicable only at the rational discursive level. Much advertising and contemporary politics do indeed seem to work by amplifying affective and preconscious dispositions rather than by discursive persuasion. Massumi's account of President Reagan's rhetoric as mindless, successful only because of its affective force, fits this mode of analysis.²⁰ This in turn places affect, rather than discourse, at the heart of analyses of power. So Kathleen Stewart has argued that power is 'a thing of the senses,'²¹ and Sara Ahmed views power as not a discursive structure but rather an 'affective economy.' This form of analysis makes affect an animalistic quality; to be powerful is to tap into, amplify, and retard the animal urges of oneself and others, and it plays down discourse understood as a distinctively human activity that separates humans from other creatures.

In Ahmed's hands, thinking of power as an affective economy is premised on the idea that affect is not the creation of the subject but rather the way in which bodies come into contact with each other and are constructed by each other. She writes that 'emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities—or bodily space with social space—through the very intensity of their attachments.'²² A key role of affectivity in this account is to form groups and bodies, and every such formation is a political act that marginalizes some and empowers others.

Ahmed's account is congruent with Shouse's taxonomy of affect, feeling, and emotion: first affect preconsciously excites or pacifies the body, then feelings are formed in a biographically determined set of reflections that also form the surfaces of bodies through which, third, people can interact with others and their environments in the emotional social world of groups of political bodies. But it need not be read in this linear fashion, and it may be that discursive formation, conscious reflection, and phenomena such as intentions and desires enable particular affective bodily sensations. In this regard, a performance metaphor drawn from the theatre may be helpful.²³ Successful performances depend on a range of factors, including the audience's previous knowledge of the play and related literatures, their desires and expectations about how the play will affect them, the coherence, beauty, insight, and rhetorical power of the script, the gestures of the actors, their positioning on the stage and relation to each other, the set, and the audience, their tone of voice, and clarity of delivery. In such a phenomenon it makes little sense to argue that bodily matters precede or override discursive factors; both

are crucial, and both inform, shape, and mutually influence each other. In fact, opposing bodies and discourses in an analysis of performance may reintroduce the body-soul dualisms that affect theorists claim to transcend. Instead, affective experience should be taken to include the whole human person, as, for example, Robert Miner's analysis of Aquinas suggests. In such schemes, the person should be understood as not merely a tightly limited subject, but an entity constituted by interactions with other humans and the wider environment, a point which recurs in broadly Augustinian accounts throughout our period.²⁴

More promising, then, are accounts of affectivity that do not seek to oppose bodily experience to discourse. Scheer's work in this area has been beneficial in providing a cogent theoretical foundation for history of emotions research. In Scheer's view, drawing on Bourdieu, bodies are formed through practice, which gives them histories, and makes them physical, mindful, and sociocultural entities deeply embedded in time and culture: both 'deep evolutionary time, but also the history of the society in which the organism is embedded, and its own history of constantly being moulded by the practices it executes' as well as its cultural expectations, norms, and sites of resistance, and the intentional actions of individuals within it.²⁵ Crocker has recently returned to and refined this point by arguing that medieval *habitus*, unlike much modern theoretical use of it, is importantly an ethical practice, a 'positive intervention in the ethical production of embodied bodies.'²⁶ One result of the accent on practice is to emphasize that the skilful use of autonomic processes is learned, and that such learning is cultural, and so subject to historical analysis, even as it makes physical changes to the body (including the brain), which can influence how bodies are then able to go on to process emotional stimuli or generate emotions.²⁷ I return to these theories in the final section below.

Medieval and Early Modern Affects

These are not new ideas, and they are centrally connected to accounts of *affectus* which essays in this volume explore. Some thinkers, Heloise among them, as Juanita Feros Ruys points out, can conceptualize *affectus* as will or intention bound up with processes of habituation, with all the bodily and cultural elements of such processes. This volume's study of *affectus* over the *longue durée* offers support for understanding affect as embodied practices at the heart of individual, communal, and social formation.

Our collection begins with two accounts of *affectus* in rhetorical literature (the essays of Mark Amsler and Rita Copeland). Amsler's discussion of *affectus* as interjection sets the stage for the sorts of tensions I have been tracing. In the hands of different rhetorical theorists, *affectus* could be involved in interjections that reveal inner dispositions of body,

mind, or soul, and such interjections could be understood as conventional or natural, as performative or representational. They capture agitations, excitations, intensities, and powers beyond intentional cognition or rationally ordered action. A long-running approach took *affectus* to signify disorder. Melancthon's definition of the interjection as 'non est dictio, sed tantum sonus inconditus, animi adfectum significans' might be a gloss on Donatus's fourth-century definition (also cited by Amsler) as a 'pars orationis significans mentis affectum voce incondite.' Such rhetorical categorization could marginalize emotional practices of interjection as at the limits of discourse, and form groups which privileged emotional practices that either minimized or encouraged such disorderly vocalizations. In claims that interjections are 'unteachable' or 'untranslatable,' we are closest to a view of *affectus* as instinctive; but in recognizing that these interjections are specific to particular languages, the rhetorical theorists' use of *affectus* captures the cultural nature of the most apparently immediate bodily experience. Similarly, Menegaldus's claim, discussed by Copeland, that we 'make ourselves, that is incline to having to have [the *affectio*], whether by intention or not' similarly problematizes contemporary affect theory's claims about the intentionality of affect and a linear progression from preconscious to conscious feeling, while underlying the abiding connections between medieval and early modern affect and virtues, or *habitus* understood as an ethical and spiritual practice.

In thinking through how to classify interjections, the rhetorical theorists studied by Amsler could understand interjections as vocalized embodiments of emotion which also signified emotional elements of situations, relationships, institutions, and wider environments. Similarly, in the tradition of extended reflection on Cicero's *De Inventione* Copeland investigates, *affectus* captures temporary changes of body or mind,²⁸ foregrounding the embodied experience of emotion, and its phenomenology as 'intensity'—warmth, vehemence, and powerful impetus towards action.²⁹ But categories of habituation (*habitus*) and effortful and intentional production of emotion and virtue (*studium*) (through embodied practices) are given equal or greater weight in thinking through how emotion can be transmitted, generated, and modulated. It does seem that a Neoplatonic tendency to privilege rationality and intention runs through much of the history of interpretation which Copeland analyses, with Marcus Victorinus's commentary extending a long influence. We can view this as a strategy to limit and constrain emotional expression by coding it as temporary, imperfect, and inconstant and thus valorizing emotional practices of constancy and moderation. Yet, in general, the rhetorical accounts display contemporary affect theorists' attention to the body, while rejecting the claim that affect is autonomous. This is congruent with a broader theory of mind much closer to situated

cognition or extended mind theory and more readily theorized within the practice framework as set out by Scheer.³⁰

In societies that value emotional practices of moderation, reserve, and constraint, one might expect *affectus* to be coded positively when linked to a detachment which plays down the physicality of emotion.³¹ Such a framework might be seen in Platonic or Stoic accounts of emotion, and, as Jonathan Teubner notes in his chapter on Augustine, is one basis on which Augustine has been read as minimizing the materiality of the affections and directing them, at best, towards a non-physical other-world. Such a scheme is inconsistent with Ahmed's claim that power is an 'affective economy'; on this account, affects (that is, physical emotions that interfere with reason) have nothing to do with politics, which is cast as the domain of rational judgement. Yet, few of the thinkers surveyed in our volume subscribe to such a view, and the emotional practices valorized across the period from late antiquity to early modernity belie it. Giambattista Vico speaks for many in understanding *affectus* (*gli affetti*) as potentially dangerous but also potentially civilizing, ultimately necessary, and given as a divine gift, for social and personal improvement, as Daniel Canaris and Francesco Borghesi suggest.

In fact, one of the clearest unifying themes across our period (a period otherwise characterized by a diversity of approaches to *affectus*) is the capacity of *affectus* to create relationships and motivate action across multiple domains, including in political action. On Teubner's account, Augustine's affections are a complex function of individual desires and personal histories, citizenship and social structures, and the operation of the Holy Spirit. Affections can be generated by individuals, social groups, or God, and the feeling self is encouraged to become progressively more open to the world on the model of Christ's porous and broken body, as it persists in prayer and hope that the Holy Spirit will thereby transform human affections, which are always disoriented and open to failure, into blessed, eternal affections. Affections thus bind humans to others and to God.

Later thinkers take up and develop this theme. It is central to so-called affective piety across times, places, and genres. Constant Mews's analysis of Cistercian thought amply documents ways in which *affectus* was embedded in accounts of personal and cosmic spiritual and intellectual transformation. In her analyses of women Latin writers, Barbara Newman argues that *affectus* refers to embodied emotional and ethical practices characterized by intensity; for these writers and their correspondents, *affectus* is an animating power that unites and directs people to each other and to God. For Hildegard's summarist, *affectus* links the cosmos to physical states in the human body. As Newman points out, this theory links the cosmic to the particular, and humoral theories (whether employing the terminology of *affectus* or not, as Naama

Cohen-Hanegbi's essay explores) point to ways in which physical feelings join humans to the wider animal world, as well as the higher orders of the cosmos. For thinkers like Bonaventure, affect becomes a means of transformation towards divinity, transforming the physical senses and associated rational analysis into spiritual perception of the divine, as Tomas Zahora argues. Affect as a practice of the ensouled body is intentional and effortful, communal, and a divine gift. In Michael Barbezat's exploration of *affectus* in the thought of Hugh of St Victor, *affectus* connects spirit to body, and while one must desire the otherworldly to be transformed into an unworldly nature, as in Augustine's case, this foregrounds rather than eliminates affects. Grace stirs the will to desire healing, directs the believer into deeper love of God, and as God is better loved, he is better known. The preponderance of Old English glosses towards 'love' identified by Antonina Harbus is relevant, for love is understood as an affect, an activity of the will or desire that unites one to another and is bound up with non-colonizing knowledge, where the lover comes to know the beloved better through the operation of love. The process of transforming knowledge through love in turn purifies and transforms the affects, as the believer comes to know with greater accuracy how to direct them, a point central to several of the Cistercian thinkers Mews analyses. Certainly, the power of affect to join can be contrasted with the power of reason, as in some of the Middle English literature Paul Megna surveys: in writers like the *Cloud*-author, God 'may be geten and holden' by love but not reason; but it seems right to say that the common position is that affect and knowledge can be complementary. In each of these areas, Charles Taylor's notion of the porous self, central to Augustine's account of affectivity explored in Teubner's essay, comes to the fore, as *affectus* joins humans to places, animals, communities, angels, and ultimately God.³²

Notes Towards a Theory of *Affectus*

The picture that emerges from the case studies offered in this volume is by no means uniform; important details differ across the different contexts we have surveyed and produce different possibilities for emotional practice and resulting personal and communal forms. But the studies do, I think, offer sufficient detail to inform at least the outlines of a renewed theory of medieval and early modern affect and to suggest implications for the wider historiographical study of the period.

Across the thinkers, genres, languages, times, and places the contributors to this volume have explored, *affectus* joins bodily perception, desire, virtue, will, and intellect, and this complex embodied creature to the wider world, which can in turn shape it. It works from the basis that subjectivity is complex and not readily controllable, that human interaction with other parts of the cosmos and with the divine helps

shape subjectivity, and it affirms that physicality, intentionality, desire, will, and discourse are part of human embodiment and emotional practice. This conceptualization of affect sits within larger claims about how subjectivity was understood in the period. It assumes that subjectivities were embodied and not self-constituted, and any satisfactory account of medieval and early modern affects thus needs to pay attention to embodied and intentional practice and ways in which subjectivities could be formed, transformed, and transcended through interactions with other things, with societies and institutions, and with God.

Resonances of this hypothesis with Taylor's notion of the 'porous self' are apparent, as are connections with contemporary affect theory, especially in its desire to decentre subjectivity and the hegemony of the human. Nevertheless, the failure of modern affect theory sufficiently to account for this hypothesis and its implications—for theories of mind, and for religious, ethical, and social practices—motivates my claim that a renewed theory of affect is required in medieval and early modern studies. The uses of *affectus* we have surveyed offer an account that can enrich the more reductive versions of modern affect theory.³³ If the rhetoric of affect theory is a rejection of the premodern in its alleged anthropocentrism, denial of the body, and dualisms, our survey of *affectus* and its cognates tells a richer story of attempts to grapple with complex phenomena of embodiment and individual, institutional, and communal practice associated with the affective intensities of a cosmos that itself groans and travails as it is being transformed.

The capacity of affect to join, orient, motivate, organize, unsettle, reassemble, and transform is crucial. In her compelling argument for renewed attention to medieval affect, Crocker has argued that medieval affects organize categories of personal identity and are thus crucial for how other categories, such as class, corporeality, ethics, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexuality, and spirituality, could be constituted in different times and places.³⁴ Our study sits well with this account, and with Crocker's encouragement to scholars to pay renewed attention to the ethical and spiritual aspects of affect, and the emotional practices and habituation to virtue which were understood as central to affect over a long period.³⁵ Crocker's understanding of medieval affect as a moral category that can drive the creation and transformation of identities is congruent with many of the different accounts of *affectus* we have surveyed.³⁶ It also helps explain connections between emotions and virtues. Scheer's earlier understanding of *habitus* and emotional practice takes the field in a similar direction, albeit without the use of the term 'affect,' which she sees as a red herring, given its idiosyncratic use in modern theory.³⁷ Again, the cases presented in this book are broadly consistent with Scheer's theorization.

Our studies may augment accounts like Crocker's and Scheer's in ways that are broadly consistent with their overall framework. At the

linguistic level, we have seen different writers use *affectus* in different ways. Sometimes it does seem to be very close to modern 'emotion,' in that it identifies particular individual states of feeling which may be transitory. In some traditions, the temporary nature of *affectus* can be contrasted with the persistence required to form a *habitus*. Theories that strongly separate 'emotion' from 'affect' and tie the latter to *habitus* and ethics should recognize that the distinction is a useful heuristic rather than something firmly established across all sources and traditions.³⁸ Similarly, sometimes *affectus* can refer to physical sensation associated with heightened emotional experience. And sometimes, as in the rhetorical theorists, it can be used to define speech generated by physical experience which cannot rise to the level of articulate, intentional discourse. But in other contexts (and across several genres and intellectual systems), it does seem to refer to the long-lasting, 'sticky' intellectual affect Crocker focuses on, and is indeed caught up in theories of mind and the virtues that bring intention and practice to the fore.

More broadly at the level of theorization, the capacity of affect to join goes beyond the formation of subjectivities, at least if this implies that affect works primarily at the individual level or if subjectivity is understood as the result only of the intentional deployment of affect.³⁹ Given the hypothesis that subjectivities are not self-constituting, scholars need to pay careful attention to ways in which subjectivity is coded as conferred, given, disrupted, or transformed from without (for example, by God, by others, by social institutions) precisely through the operation of affect. A theory of affect must, then, account for relationships between individuals, institutions, histories, and between creatures and their creator. Ultimately, the transcendence of subjectivity is in view, since the earthly body becomes a genuinely new creation in the eschaton. This should encourage scholars to place their accounts of affect in the context of cosmology and eschatology as well as ethics and spirituality. This is to say that subjectivity is no more primary a category of analysis than anything else. In a related way, Crocker's emphasis on the ethical should be held together with Scheer's account of the political. This follows from the claim that medieval and early modern selves are open to others and to God. Augustine's account projects porous selves into the poverty of the world to have their affectivity transformed as a blessed city is built in place of an earthly one. Abelard insists on the intentionality of affect within a wider argument against consequentialism in ethics and politics. Affect operates politically partly by organizing and reframing categories of personal identity (including through connecting believers to a divine identity), as in Crocker's account; partly by habituating people to political action, as in Scheer's account of *habitus*; and partly by connecting different orders of the cosmos, changing how people experience the places and situations they inhabit, and propelling them to imagine a new, transformed world. Finally, while our sources (and theories like those of Crocker and Scheer) repeatedly emphasize

intention and intellection in discussions of affect, they also leave room for affect experienced at a tangent to discourse, where all that remains of intellect is an inarticulate cry. The physical presence of affect remains at this tangent, drawing attention to ways in which objects and the physical configuration of spaces can generate, elicit, shape, and constrain affect.⁴⁰ Here, perhaps, is where studies of materiality might best intersect with study of affect, although if medieval and early modern affect teaches anything, it is that throughout the period, the material and the spatial are always already inflected by words, just as words are limited by physical realia.

Notes

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- 1 *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. Andrew Cole and D. Vance Smith (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010). See also Bruce Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- 2 Charles D. Blanton, 'Medieval Currencies. Nominalism and Art,' in *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages*, 203, 217. As Stephanie Trigg noted in her review, Blanton's epigrammatic mode can appear to essentialize 'the medieval' and suggest that 'the modern' necessarily emerges from it. See Stephanie Trigg, 'Review of Cole and Smith,' *Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 10, no. 2 (2012): 370.
- 3 I focus on 'affect theory' more than the psychological theory (especially so-called 'constructionist theories of emotion') with which it interacts since it has been influential in the humanities. For an excellent outline of psychological theories of emotion and affect, see Maria Gendron and Lisa F. Barrett, 'Reconstructing the Past: A Century of Ideas about Emotion in Psychology,' *Emotion Review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 316–339.
- 4 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
- 5 See further Daniel Smith and John Protevi, 'Gilles Deleuze,' *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2018 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2018/entries/deleuze/>.
- 6 Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg, 'An Inventory of Shimmers,' in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 1–2.
- 7 For this physicalist genealogy and redefinition of the 'immaterial' see Lisa Blackman, *Immaterial Bodies: Affect, Embodiment, and Mediation* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2012), ix–xxv. The reinscription of the immaterial as material is a striking departure from premodernity. Earlier traditions accept that the immaterial has material effects; modern thinkers account for the immaterial in material terms. Teresa Brennan, *Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), for example, stands in this tradition. My thanks to Jonathan Teubner for this point.
- 8 The metaphors in this sentence are my own, in an attempt to find common ground across the emic descriptions which are drawn from some of the metaphors deployed (and obliquely referencing Deleuze and Guattari) in the first few pages of Seigworth and Gregg, 'An Inventory of Shimmers.'

- 9 Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy*, trans. Robert Hurley (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1988), 27.
- 10 Spinoza, *Ethics* IIIp9 is the *locus classicus*: see Benedictus Spinoza, *The Collected Writings of Spinoza*, trans. Edwin Curley, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985). Vol. 1. A good overview from a very different perspective from Deleuze is Steven Nadler, 'Baruch Spinoza,' in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2016 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/spinoza/>.
- 11 Brian Massumi, 'The Autonomy of Affect,' *Cultural Critique* 31 (1995): 83–109.
- 12 Eric Shouse, 'Feeling, Emotion, Affect,' *M/C Journal* 8, no. 6 (2005): <http://journal.media-culture.org.au/0512/03-shouse.php>. Shouse understands himself to be building on the theory of Brian Massumi and Antonio Damasio. See especially Brian Massumi, 'Notes on the Translation and Acknowledgements,' in Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987); Antonio Damasio, *Descartes' Error* (New York: Quill, 2000).
- 13 William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1890), 449–450. See Ludwig Wittgenstein's rejection of James at *Remarks on the Philosophy of Psychology*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), Vol. I, §§ 729–730.
- 14 Stephanie Trigg provides an excellent account of different genealogies of 'affect,' 'emotion,' and related vocabulary, and the relation between them, especially in the domains of literary studies and historiography in her 'Introduction: Emotional Histories—Beyond the Personalization of the Past and the Abstraction of Affect Theory,' *Exemplaria* 26, no. 1 (2014): 3–15. See also Stephanie Trigg, 'Affect Theory,' in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 10–13.
- 15 Many affect theorists take the James-Lange account from Damasio. While Spinoza offered a monistic naturalism, Damasio's version appears to reinsert a mind-body dualism at the level of the processing of affect. Ruth Leys advances this critique of affect theory along with other criticisms. See Leys, 'The Turn to Affect: A Critique,' *Critical Inquiry* 37 (2011): 434–472.
- 16 James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 451: if we

abstract from our consciousness ... all the feelings of its bodily symptoms, we find we have nothing left behind, no "mind-stuff" out of which the emotion can be constituted, and that a cold and neutral state of intellectual perception is all that remains.
- 17 See further Leys, 'The Turn to Affect.'
- 18 See the articles in the *Angelaki* special issue and especially the introduction by Gerda Roelvink and Magdalena Zolkos, 'Posthumanist Perspectives on Affect: Framing the Field,' *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 20, no. 3 (2015): 1–20.
- 19 See, for example, Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 20 Massumi, 'The Autonomy of Affect.'
- 21 Kathleen Stewart, *Ordinary Affects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 84.
- 22 Sara Ahmed, 'Affective Economies,' *Social Text* 22, no. 2 (2004): 119.
- 23 See Donovan O. Schaefer, *Religious Affects: Animality, Evolution, and Power* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015). Schaefer has provided a stimulating account of religion as affect but argues that a performance metaphor helps explicate affect as preconscious and more fundamental than discursive experience.

- 24 For this point and further discussion, see Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 195–196.
- 25 Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice,' 201.
- 26 Ibid., 194.
- 27 While premodern theorists do not make this point in these terms, it is consistent with the emphasis, for example, on ascetic practices which are intended to shape the mind and body in ways that are intended to result in preferred responses to emotional stimuli.
- 28 Matthew of Vendôme speaks of 'animi vel corporis' in emphasizing the bodily phenomenology of affect, as Copeland points out.
- 29 In a later period, as Bob White points out in the case of Shakespeare, affect can be coded as spontaneous and instinctual or as willed responsiveness.
- 30 Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice,' 196–197, who provides discussion of these theories.
- 31 Benno Gammerl, 'Emotional Styles—Concepts and Challenges,' *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16, no. 2 (2012): 161–175.
- 32 Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2007).
- 33 In this, I am in sympathy with Holly Crocker's injunction to 'engage modern affect theory by calling attention to the impoverished subjectivities that contemporary theorizations allow, even impose'. See Holly Crocker, 'Medieval Affects Now,' *Exemplaria* 29, no. 1 (2017): 94.
- 34 Ibid., 84–85.
- 35 Ibid., 93–94.
- 36 Ibid., 83.
- 37 Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice,' 198 n. 26.
- 38 As Margaret Watkins's study of Hume demonstrates, for some thinkers, distinctions between 'passion,' 'emotion,' and 'affection' should not be pushed too far, in order adequately to account for the complexity of psychological and ethical phenomena. See also the study by Canaris and Borghesi of Giambattista Vico. This seems to be a more wide-ranging phenomena: for the sixteenth century, see Kirk Essary, 'Passions, Emotions, or Affections? On the Ambiguity of 16th-Century Terminology,' *Emotion Review* 9, no. 4 (2017): 367–374.
- 39 Lauren Berlant has defined affect as 'about relationality and reciprocity as such' in an argument for attending to the political structures of affect. See Lauren Berlant and Jordan Greenwald, 'Affect in the End Times: A Conversation with Lauren Berlant,' *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 20, no. 2 (2012), 88.
- 40 See further the theoretical framing of their recent edited collection by Stephanie Downes et al., 'A Feeling for Things, Past and Present,' in *Feeling Things: Objections and Emotions through History*, ed. idem (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 8–24.

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